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*History of Napoleon Bonaparte,  
and wars of Europe, by W.B. ...*

William B. Hewetson

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*Napoleon Bonaparte,*  
*late*  
EMPEROR OF FRANCE.

*Engraved by T. Cook, from a French Painting.*

*London, Feb. 25. 1819. by T. Cook, Engraver, from a French Painting.*

**HISTORY**  
**OF**  
***Napoleon Bonaparte,***  
**AND**  
***Wars of Europe,***  
**FROM THE**  
**REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,**  
**TO THE**  
**TERMINATION OF THE LATE WARS**  
**INCLUDING ANECDOTES**  
**OF THE MOST**  
**CELEBRATED CHARACTERS**

**That have appeared during and since the Revolution**

**IN THREE VOLUMES.**

  
**By W. B. HEWESTON, Esq.**  


**VOL. I.**

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**1815.**

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## PREFACE.

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To write the life of a living person is generally a work of much difficulty. Actions which take place, as it were, in our sight, are judged of by men in a very different light; some approve, others condemn them, and all view them in a partial manner. We have, however, endeavoured to keep clear, and have stated things as they occurred. The life of man is prone to change, and to undergo strange vicissitudes: but few, I believe, have undergone greater than the man whose life we now commemorate. Were any of our acquaintances to be placed in situations such as he has been, it is hard to say how they would act; the trial is a great one, and requires almost more than a man to go through it.

The principal part of the volumes now offered to the public, consists in accounts of warlike exploits, of "moving accidents by flood and field." In these Napoleon has had a great share; greater, indeed, than falls to the lot of man in general, and he has not shrunk from the "dealing out the deadly blow."

Man is but the sport of Fortune, and often held up in a conspicuous manner as an example for others to profit by; characters, in themselves originally but trifling, are sometimes brought upon the stage of life, and raised to mighty power through means, to us, apparently improbable, yet we see their elevation, and of course believe "whatever is is right;" for it is the wisdom of Providence which does it, to shew us what it can do when it chooses.

The time about which we have been writing was one

of great moment, and full of strange events; all Europe was in a state of convulsion, occasioned by the disturbed state of France, who shed her baleful influence wherever she reached to; she prevailed, and spread her destructive measures over both friends and foes; such days were not before seen in Europe, and Heaven grant they never may be again!

From the commencement of the revolution, France exhibits the picture of a nation torn by intestine feuds, and struggling against a myriad of united foes; and great and victorious against them all. Leaders of different characters at times directed her councils for a while, but it was reserved for Napoleon Bonaparte to put an end to the confusion which prevailed within her territory, to restore her to tranquillity, make her great among the nations of Europe, and increase her dominions to an almost boundless extent. The means by which this was effected were indeed great and new; and the efforts of the people were like those of giants; but their nature seemed changed, and they fought as though they were another set of beings.

The more we consider the French revolution the more we are lost in wonder at the scenes we have witnessed in its course; and the events that have arisen from it are sufficient to make us regard it with wonder and a degree of astonishment. Throughout its changes Bonaparte has acted a conspicuous part from his first appearance; many praise, and as many blame him, and betwixt both it is hard to guess at the truth. That he has in many instances acted in a very strange way cannot be denied; but he has in some cases been fortunate and successful. His conduct in several cases merits condemnation; the whole of it, with regard to Spain, is marked with much duplicity; he at first appeared the friend of Charles IV.

wound himself into his secret thoughts, and when he had the power, left the unhappy monarch to bewail his incredulity in thus trusting to worse than a reed. The Prince of Peace, Don Manuel Godoy, alias *the favourite*, was a tool of Bonaparte, and, no doubt, purchased by him, as his conduct was evidently that of a traitor; but the Spanish people found him out, and he was obliged to seek shelter in France from their rage. The King and his son were also in France, but more like prisoners than any thing else. The conduct of Charles the IVth. was very strange, he first abdicated his throne in favour of Ferdinand, and afterwards denied it, accusing Ferdinand of acting unworthily.

The man who sits down to write a work, be it on what subject it may, lays himself open to the attacks of the world, when once his work gets into circulation; he then becomes a butt for all to dart at, and must take his share of good or bad luck; yet, among the many who peruse it, friends are found who will pardon his errors, and praise him where he really deserves it, and critics who will lash with justice. That I have deserved both of these, I will venture to affirm, although it is a general maxim that man should say nothing in favour of himself. To merit those sort of friends I have been careful to adhere to what has been known to have taken place, and to state facts as they occurred, without adding to, or taking from them. Much has been written on the subject of the French revolution, and many writers have described it in very glowing terms; but have they all adhered strictly to truth? That is a difficult question to be fairly answered, and many will say, No; in which I must agree with them. But it is impossible to be otherwise than interested for or against what passes before us, and strikes on our senses, as though we were



a party in the matters thus enacted; the human mind cannot be wholly free from prejudice, however much it may be inclined to be so.

The observations we have made on the character of Bonaparte have been dictated by truth and candour, at least we are of that opinion; whether they are so, however, in reality, we leave to the public to judge, and on that judgment we rely. We trust also, that the work, with which we now present them may be looked on in the way in which it was intended to be, namely, for their amusement and information; with this hope we for the present bid them farewell, and trust that our next exertion will be more generally approved of.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,  
AND  
*WARS OF EUROPE.*

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CHAPTER I.

**T**HE puerility of heroes in every age has been much descanted on by various writers, but the anecdotes have usually failed of creating any extraordinary interest; they serve only to amuse weak minds, and fill up a chasm in those whose understandings are limited; we shall therefore compress those of Napoleon's infancy to as small a compass as we can.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, a small town in the island of Corsica. He was the eldest son of Carlo Bonaparte, a lawyer, of Italian extraction, by his wife Letitia Raniolini; and it has been said, that General Paoli was his godfather. General Count Marboeuf was the early patron of Napoleon; he had conquered Corsica for the kingdom of France, and was appointed governor of the island.

The elevation of individuals, whether by their merits, their crimes, or their intrigues, has always afforded the malignant an opportunity of calumny, and the curious a fund of inquiry; the one will forge a fact, and the credulity of the other pronounce it genuine and give it currency, and thus the vile and the virtuous are equally subject to misrepresentation and abuse. Those narrations,

## Removal to Brienne.

therefore, which indiscriminately impute to the family and connections of Bonaparte, the commission of flagrant and detestable crimes, and incorrigible depravity of heart, should be listened to with a cautious reserve, and such as elude enquiry as to their origin, or whose origin does not fully prove their authenticity, we have no sufficient war-rantry to believe.

Whatever may be said of Bonaparte's illegitimacy is at present destitute of the authority necessary for the historian; but be his origin what it may, he became so much an object of the Count de Marboeuf's protection as to have been admitted, by his influence with the *Maréchal de Segur*, the French Minister at War, as an *Elève du Roi*, into the *Ecole Royale Militaire*, at Brienne, in the province of Champagne. Here it was that he acquired a knowledge of the military and political sciences, which he has since so well matured by experience, and which has enabled him to lead mighty armies to battle, and to conquer; which has brought princes to his feet to sue for the nominal possession of their states; which has procured for him kingdoms that he has bestowed on those whom he chose to create sovereigns; and which has given him the uncontrolled and the absolute dominion of an empire that he raised to be the mightiest on the continent of Europe; and seated him on the throne of the most ancient and powerful dynasties of the civilized world.

The school at Brienne was one of the thirteen *Royal Military Schools*, or Colleges, which were established in various provinces of the kingdom of France, and they were particularly patronised by the two last sovereigns of the Bourbon family. These establishments were magnificently endowed, and the pupils enjoyed every advantage which was essential to their domestic convenience.

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His Studies.

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The most able masters superintended their education, and they were principally encouraged to acquire a competent knowledge of the ancient and modern languages, geography, history, the mathematics, and every branch of military science.

*L'Ecole Royal Militaire*, at Paris, was at the head of the other military schools in the provinces, and it was to this school that not only subordination was acknowledged by the pupils of the others, but to which they looked forward as the haven of all the youths of pre-eminent genius that the military schools of the provinces had educated.

Bonaparte arrived at the Royal Military School at Brienne in the year 1779, being then only ten years old. At this early age, however, he discovered a peculiar temper of mind. He avoided the juvenile sports and amusements of the other pupils, and courted solitude and gloom; withdrawing himself from their mirth, he devoted his attention to sedentary, rather than to active employments, and appeared entirely engaged in his own individual and retired pursuits. He seldom exposed himself to his school-fellows; for as he came only as a monitor, they repulsed his reprimands and raileries by blows, which he received with indifference, returned with coolness, and never shunned by retreating from superior force.

It does not appear, that on his first entrance at school, any extraordinary acquirements of learning marked an inordinate desire of instruction or intenaeness of application; he seems to have neglected, if not altogether rejected, in his early years, the attainment of the Latin language. He soon, however, applied himself with earnestness to the mathematics, the rudiments of which he was taught by Father Patrault, a minim at Brienne. Fortification, and all the other branches of military science and

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*His Employment in the Hours of Vacation.*

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tactics, he studied with increasing ardour ; and these, with the reading of history, principally of antient Rome and Greece, were his most delightful occupation.

During the period which Bonaparte continued at Brienne, a library was formed for the amusement and instruction of the pupils, and which was to be under their entire direction. To give them proper notions of arrangement and order, their superiors left the distribution of the books and other affairs to the management of two of the boarders, chosen by their comrades. The calls of Bonaparte on one of these, who was appointed librarian, were so often and so much more frequent than the applications of his companions, that the young man considered him tiresome, and sometimes lost his temper ; Bonaparte was not less patient nor less positive, and on these occasions extorted submission by blows.

The hours of vacation between his attendance on the preceptors of the school were spent in his garden, which he cultivated so assiduously as to preserve its interior in a state of order and cleanliness. Its boundaries became impervious, and enclosed a retreat that might have been coveted by a religious recluse. Here, when his horticultural labours were ended, he retired to its harbours with his mathematical and scientific works ; and, surrounded by these and other books, chiefly on historical subjects, he meditated the reduction of the principles he had imbibed to practice. He planned the attack and defence of fortified places, the arrangement of hostile corps in order of battle, calculated the chances of success on the one part, and of defeat on the other ; altered their position, and formed charges and victories upon paper, and on the ground, which he afterwards realised with success when directing the evolutions of the French armies. His mili-

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His Employment in the Hours of Vacation.

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tary ardour was increased by his historical reading; his enthusiasm was excited by the lives of those ancient legislators, heroes, and warriors, which are recorded by the venerable Plutarch, the splendour of whose actions have eclipsed the injustice at which they sometimes aimed, and which more frequently originated in the daring purposes of the factious partisan, or in the desperate policy of the bold-faced tyrant, than in the laudable design of the intrepid patriot, to free his country from despotism; or, than in the resolution of the Chief of a free people, to preserve their independence, and secure their government from treachery. The Life of the Marshal, Prince of Saxony, was also a frequent recreation to Bonaparte, after a close application to the mathematics. He persisted in all his studies with avidity.

The Belles Lettres were not any source of his entertainment; his sole and undivided attention was to military acquirements, and a proficiency in the studies which form the habits of a warrior. Polite, or liberal accomplishments, he appeared to consider that a soldier should disdain. He had, doubtless, heard of the achievements of Marlborough in the field, and perhaps that he had also studied the art of pleasing, "that by it he gained whoever he had a mind to gain; and he had a mind to gain every body, because he knew that every body was more or less worth gaining." But it was not by gracefulness of demeanor that Bonaparte designed to win: what he could not gain by mere force, he never sought to attain by a display of any endeavour to please; what he could not possess by his power, he never relinquished the pursuit of, but acquired it by stratagem, in which there was no seeing of his influence. He scorned the arts of a courtier, nor even employed them where it

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Attachment to Corsica.

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might have been supposed that no other attempt would succeed. All other means which power and the ingenuity of an uncultivated mind would have devised, he used without hesitation. His comrades called him *The Spartan*, and he retained the name until he quitted *Brienne*.

Bonaparte's attachment to Corsica was almost proverbial. It was usual for the boys to receive the communion and be confirmed on the same day, and the ceremony was performed at the Military School by the Archbishop; when he came to Bonaparte, he asked him, like the rest, his Christian name: Bonaparte answered aloud. The name of Napoleon being uncommon, escaped the Archbishop, who desired him to repeat it, which Bonaparte did with an appearance of impatience. The minister who assisted, remarked to the prelate—"Napoleon! I do not know that saint."—"Parbleu! I believe it," observed Bonaparte; "the saint is a Corsican."

His fellow pupils frequently irritated him by calling him a French vassal: he retorted eagerly and with bitterness. He sometimes declared a belief that his destiny was to deliver Corsica on its dependence on France. The name of Paoli he never mentioned but with reverence, and he aspired to the honour of achieving the design which the plans of that officer could not accomplish. Genoa had added to the calamity of his country by surrendering it to France, and thus exposed it to a subjection which it gallantly resisted, but to which superior force compelled submission. To the Genoese his hatred was inveterate and eternal; a young Corsican, on his arrival at the college, was presented to Bonaparte by the other students as a Genoese, the gloom of his countenance instantly kindled into rage, he darted upon

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His manners—Heads different Parties.

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the lad with vehemence, twisted his hands in his hair, and was only prevented using further violence by the immediate interference of the stronger boys, who dragged the lad away from his resentment. His anger rekindled against this youth for many weeks afterwards, as frequently as he came near him.

His manners were very remarkable; pride was the prominent feature of his character; his conduct was austere: if he committed an error, it was not the fault of a boy, it was the result of deliberation, and what would, in mature age, have been deemed a crime. His severity never forgave the offences of his companions. His resolves were immovable, and his firmness in trifles tinged his behaviour with obstinacy and eccentricity. Frequently engaged in quarrels, he was often the greatest sufferer, as he generally contended on the weakest side, and though he was mostly singled out as an object of revenge, he never complained to his superiors of ill treatment. He meditated retaliation in silence, and if he could not inflict a punishment himself, he disdained appealing to an authority that could enforce it.

The boys of the school were, however, gradually familiarized to his temper; he would not bend to them, and they were contented to concede to him. He accepted this acknowledgment of his superiority, without any appearance of self gratulation, and although they could not esteem him for any of the milder virtues, they feared his inflexible nature, and allowed him either to indulge in seclusion, or to associate with themselves as he might please. The insurrections of the scholars against the masters were frequent, and Bonaparte was either at the head of each rebellion, or was selected to advocate their complaints. He was therefore generally selected as the



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Chosen Captain—Declared unworthy to command his Comrades.

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leader, and suffered severe chastisement. He often vindicated his conduct, but never entreated pardon. He listened to reproach and to reproof, to promises and to threats, without emotions of fear or surprise. He was never humiliated by those punishments that were intended to disgrace him, and the raillery of an ungenerous comrade, or a powerful superior, was equally received in sullen silence. He neither courted good-will nor feared resentment.

The meetings of the boys were on the plan of a military establishment. They formed themselves into companies, each under the command of a captain and other officers, and the whole composed a battalion, with a colonel at its head. The officers were chosen by the boys, and decorated by the ornaments usually attached to the French uniform, these distinctions of rank being conferred by the lads, were mostly the reward of some pre-eminent virtue or ability; they were, therefore, considered by those who were so fortunate to obtain them, as an honourable *insignia* of merit. Bonaparte was unanimously chosen, and held the rank of captain. He, however, by no means courted their approbation; for he was soon afterwards summoned before a court-martial, which was called with all due formality, and, on charges being proved against him, declared unworthy to command those comrades whose good-will he despised. The sentence disgraced him to the lowest rank in the battalion, he was stripped of the distinguishing marks of his command, but disdained to show that he was affected by the disgrace.

The younger boys, however, were partial to Bonaparte's manners, for he sometimes encouraged them in their sports, and occasionally pointed out some advantage

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Raises Field Works, forms Entrenchments, &c.

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which in their warlike plays had been omitted to be occupied, hence he associated with them, and they voted him, by acclamation, the director of their diversions. Thus, if he felt regret for the loss of his juvenile military rank, he was now recompensed by becoming the leader of the lads who submitted to the authority they had bestowed on him, and which authority soon extended itself over all the youths in the school. Without being restricted to observe the rules which are essential to modern military duty, he could now bring his forces into the field, and direct all their operations. He availed himself of this new command, and he disciplined his comrades to a new mode of warfare.

His activity repressed in the only exercise to which he was attached, Bonaparte retired to his favourite garden, resumed his former occupations, and appeared no more among his comrades until the winter of the year 1783. The severity of the weather had driven him from his retreat, the snow had lain thick upon the ground, and a hard frost had set in. Bonaparte ever fertile in expedients, determined to open a winter campaign upon a new plan. The modern art of war succeeded to the ancient. Having been deeply engaged in the study of fortification, it was natural that he should be desirous of reducing its theory to practice. He called his fellow pupils around him, and collecting their gardening implements, he put himself at their head, and they proceeded to procure large quantities of snow, which were brought to particular spots in the great court of the school, as he directed. Whilst they were thus occupied, he was busied in tracing the boundaries of an extensive fortification; they soon formed entrenchments, and afterwards eagerly engaged in erecting forts, bastions, and redoubts of snow. They

laboured with activity, and Bonaparte superintended their exertions.

The whole of these works were soon compleated according to the exact rules of art. The curiosity of the people of Brienne, and even of strangers, was excited by the report of their extent and scientific construction, and they went in crowds during the winter to admire them. Bonaparte, by turns, headed the assailants and the opponents; he united address with courage, and directed the operations with great applause. The weapons of the contending parties were snow balls, and he continually kept up the interest by some military manœuvre, which always surprised if he did not astonish. The encounters were equally earnest with those of the summer campaign, but the arms were different. The superiors now encouraged these games of the boys, by praising those who distinguished themselves. The sports continued throughout the winter, and it was not until the sun of the month of March, 1784, had liquified the fortress, that it was declared no longer tenable.

The rudeness of manners which Bonaparte displayed, and the violence of temper to which he was subject, were not at all softened or subdued previous to his quitting Brienne; his paroxysms of passion had sometimes amounted even to fury, and his anger was often so sudden and so uncontrollable that few of his comrades would venture to hazard his displeasure.

The annual examination of the pupils by the Royal Inspector General, M. le Chevalier de Renault, took place soon after. This officer found Bonaparte well versed in the art of fortification, and as he himself owed his preferment and his fortune to his talents, and to the universal testimony of an honourable conduct, he knew well

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His Arrival at the Military College at Paris.

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how to estimate the ingenuity and ability which are the result of inquiry and reflection, and he adjudged that Bonaparte's proficiency in military knowledge entitled him to be sent to *L' Ecole Royal Militaire* at Paris. His masters, however, represented to the inspector several occurrences unfavourable to his promotion, but without effect, and Bonaparte arrived at the Military College at Paris, on the 17th of October, 1784.

During the time Bonaparte continued at the military school of Brienne, we have observed that he seldom courted the acquaintance of his fellow students, nor was induced to leave his retreat either to afford or receive any of those little offices of kindness which are congenial to the youthful disposition. If he quitted his professional duties or studies for the company of his comrades, it was principally to check the exuberance of their playfulness, or to condemn the objects of their solicitude. His aversion to sociability was much increased by his excessive indulgence in habits of suspicion; but if he feared treachery, he also avoided the possibility of being betrayed; he bestowed no confidence, nor accepted any favours. His temper was overbearing and irritable. He often endeavoured to control the actions of the other youths. Sometimes he excited their indignation by his sarcasms, but never did he fear their vengeance, or shrink from their endeavours to punish his ill-timed interference; he bore their attacks with firmness, and repelled them with equal violence, and with various success. No threats, either from his equals, or his superiors, nor no impending danger appeared to appal him, and he seemed as insensible to their applause as to their displeasure. Sternly independent, and confiding in himself alone, respecting no talents in another which he could not employ to his

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His Leisure Hours—Enters a Regiment of Artillery.

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own purposes, intriguing where he could not command, firm in his resolves, impatient of restraint, and disdainful of authority—his character when he left Brienne, was as remarkable for its turbulence, as for its inflexibility.

To complete his knowledge of the mathematics, was the principal object of Bonaparte at the Military College of Paris. He laboured with unwearied diligence under the instructions of the celebrated Monge. The corps of artillery and the corps of engineers were, at that time, the only corps in France where merit was certain of promotion, and in which interest had no influence, and into one of these he determined to enter as soon as he had passed the requisite probation.

There were then about three hundred pupils at this college, and from them he selected Lauriston, a youth of phlegmatic temper, and Dupont, a daring and fearless young man, for his intimates. He had made one friendship at Brienne, but which he never allowed to interrupt his professional avocations: this was with Faucelet de Bourienne, who was, like himself, a student of the mathematics, but of remarkably placid manners.

The leisure hours of Bonaparte at the college at Paris, were usually spent in one of the bastions of a small fort, called "Lieu Branc," which had been erected for the use of pupils. It was there that he was often seen with the works of Vauban, Muller, Cohorn, and Folhard, open before him, drawing plans for the attack and defence of this little fort, according to the rules of the military art.

Monge had so well qualified Bonaparte by his care and information, that, on his first examination, he passed with praise, and was allowed to enter the regiment of artillery *de la Fere*, in garrison at Auxonne, as Lieutenant, in the month of July, 1785, and he immediately pre-

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**His Dissatisfaction at the Narrowness of his Income.**

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ceeded to join the regiment. His attention to the theory of his profession was as unremitting as ever; he devoted part of the night to the study of military details, and past most of the day in contemplating and examining the fortifications of the garrison. In his occasional conversations with the officers of the regiment, he expressed opinions which were then considered as factious, both by those of the higher orders and those who were the partisans of royalty. His ill humour was seldom concealed against any regulations that abridged the privileges or checked the licentiousness of the people, and whether those regulations affected the indefeasible right of an individual or a public body, or curtailed the excesses which arose out of the inefficacy of the laws, or the laxity of their administration, he was equally adverse to the controlling power. His opposition of sentiment to all the measures of government was uniform, and unchangeable by any endeavours to reason its inconsistency or its injustice.

The death of General Count Marboeuf, in the year 1786, deprived Bonaparte of his protection and influence; the advantages which he derived from that officer's pecuniary assistance, were no longer attainable, and his pay as a lieutenant was scarcely adequate to support the appearance his rank required. His dissatisfaction was increased by the narrowness of his income, and the numerous factions which disordered all the ranks of society in France, induced him to await with complacency for some terrible convulsion of the state that should open a path to his military activity and preferment.

It was easy for a deeply reflective mind to imagine that a great change of affairs might take place, and as

even the energies of power as well as its abuses were, when he felt or witnessed either, the objects of his resentment, every circumstance which tended to counteract the operations of the Government he rightly considered would hasten the event he wished for. The numerous venal factions which divided alike the nobility, the clergy, and the people of Paris, the separation of their interests, and the inordinate selfishness of the individuals which composed those bodies;—these distractions increased his hopes, and emboldened his language.

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## CHAPTER II.

THE great and mighty revolution in which fate had designed this extraordinary young man to perform a character more complicated and more important than ever was assigned to a single individual before, took its origin from the commencement of the reign of Louis XV. Like the collecting elements of a tremendous volcano, it silently continued to form its various combinations till its elective attractions were complete, when by a convulsive effort, it suddenly burst open the bosom of secrecy, and, rolling forth in torrents of irresistible confusion, threw down the oldest empires, monarchies, and thrones, in its impetuous course, without any apparent object, but that of raising an obscure person to a rank little inferior to a Deity on earth.

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Grandeur of Louis XIV.

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During the reign of Louis the XIVth, France had been raised to the highest pitch of grandeur that she had ever seen, but it was a grandeur by which the throne was exalted and the people depressed. The glory of the king consisted in the pageantry of his court, rather than in the opulence of his people, and the revenue was expended to display the taste of the monarch, instead of improving the condition of the nation.

At the death of Louis XIV. he left the kingdom to his son, an infant in the arms of his nurse, and the government devolved upon regents, and women, whose frivolous minds led them constantly to resort to expedients just sufficient to extricate the nation from its temporary embarrassments, but they never adopted any grand and prospective measure that was calculated for its future benefit. When the king grew up, he seemed to out-run the contemptible manners of the court, by adding a degree of depravity to his own, which his exalted rank only served to render more pernicious; its bad example may very properly be compared to an overwhelming flood that carries every thing before it. All orders of the French people were influenced by the degeneracy of their leaders, and every privileged class was so anxious for the extension of its rights, that, in pursuit of their several usurpations, they were all equally negligent of their duties. The clergy and the nobility endeavoured to outvie each other in the flattery they daily offered to the throne, and they expected their adulation to be repaid by the homage they exacted from the people. Rank and authority was supposed to be the only rule of moral fitness; accordingly they established it as a maxim, that "the will of the king was the only law," and they



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Louis XVI. ascends the Throne.

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taught the monarch to assign no other reason for the most arbitrary act, than, "such is our pleasure."

In addition to the general ill-humour that arises out of the poverty and servility of a people under a despotic government, the people of France were constantly irritated by arbitrary arrests, under the authority of *Lettres de Cachet*, as well as by innumerable persecutions on account of religious opinions, and by an odious tax, known in that country by the name of *Gabelle*. Upon all these topics the literary men of the day were in the habit of animadverting with great severity; and though they might have discovered something nearly as objectionable in many other countries of Europe, a variety of accidents combined to direct their attention principally to France. The king and his courtiers adhered pertinaciously to their system, but there was a public opinion rising up against them, which only granted a truce until it should be able to strengthen itself.

Such was the state of the kingdom, when, in the year 1774, Louis XVI. mounted the throne. He was a prince to whom the people looked up with much expectation, as his conduct while dauphin had been most exemplary. In the year 1770 he had married Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Teresa, and sister to Joseph the II<sup>d</sup>. Emperor of Germany, a princess of an excellent capacity and great dignity of mind, and which alliance might have been eminently serviceable to the nation, but for the egotism and selfishness of the French, which constantly led them to be guilty of any meanness rather than to acknowledge a real obligation to any power but their own.

If the young king and queen were not endowed with

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Bury of the Nobles—Censures on the Queen.

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every virtue, they could not be accused of any vice, and, had they been happily surrounded by a court, and a people as pure as themselves, their reign might have been truly happy for themselves, and prosperous for their country : but the insolent arrogance of the nobility, and the supercilious bigotry of the clergy, knew no bounds, and the sovereign was constantly restrained from indulging the benevolence of his heart by those who would have been disgraced by the precedent.

The education of their majesties had by no means taught them to husband the splendor with which their exalted rank enabled them to dazzle the eyes of their greedy attendants : the innocent pre-eminence they preserved just above the heads of the voluptuous nobles, excited the envy of all the vicious and the vain, who unceasingly repine at the enjoyments of others, when the consciousness of crime destroys the relish of their own.

This malignant spirit soon found an opportunity of displaying itself. The queen being a foreigner, the most bitter censures might be pointed against her without wounding the national vanity of the French people for their country, and therefore the heroes of the great nation commenced an attack upon her conduct, and, by a series of uninterrupted calumnies, persuaded the vulgar and ignorant rabble, who knew no history beyond that of their own *Fauxbourgs*, that all the confusion of the state had been produced by this one woman.

Circumstanced as the country was, the utmost vigour and promptitude were required of the government. Unfortunately, the king possessed neither, and the system of patching and mending, adopted in the former reign, was still pursued.

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*Causes of the Wretchedness among the People.*

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Had the king possessed an inflexibility of mind, he might easily have secured the kingdom against the dangers which menaced it, for he saw the necessity of a more economical arrangement, and on that account appointed Turgot his minister of finance. Wisdom, integrity, and benevolence, marked the progress of this administration, which at once restored the public credit and reduced the grievances of the people; but the profligacy and dissipation of the great raised such violent clamours against the prudent restraints of this minister, that the king was persuaded to dismiss him; and he was followed by a succession of those artificial great men, who imagine that all evils may be remedied by allaying the disorders of the moment.

A firm and enterprising prince, in the circumstances of Louis the XVIth, would have benefited greatly by the general state of Europe. At the commencement of his reign, England, the only power from whom France could expect any cause of quarrel, was engaged in such numerous disputes with her Indian and American colonies, that she could have nothing to apprehend from that quarter. The kings of Prussia and Sweden, as well as the Empress Catherine, had made such various reforms in their several states, that the public were universally prepared for ameliorations and improvements, and the whole body of the literati had so far committed themselves upon the reforms necessary in France, that they could not, with any decency, have opposed the correction of such abuses as the French monarch might have been determined to effect.

The principal causes of the general wretchedness that afflicted France, were the feudal system, and the privileges and exemptions claimed by the nobles and the

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**Pernicious Influence of the Nobles and Clergy.**

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clergy, who oppressed the people by the most severe actions of services and tythes, whilst they could not themselves be forced to contribute towards the burdens of the state. The circumstances of the country required that those immunities, the usurpations of barbarous times, should have been abolished, and that the lands of both those classes should have become chargeable with an impost for the support of the public revenue.

Joseph the II<sup>d</sup>. brother-in-law of the king, was a prince of a most enlightened and benevolent mind, devoting every hour of his life to the service of his country, and exerting every effort to rescue his people from the oppression of the aristocratical and ecclesiastical bodies. The influence of those two orders was nearly as pernicious in Germany as it was in France, and the emperor would happily have united his efforts with those of Louis to have effected the independence of their people, and a general toleration in their respective states. M. Turgot had recommended those measures to the king; but the selfishness and bigotry of the nobles and the clergy deterred him from following this wise counsel.

An undefined animosity had existed for ages between England and France, which was always more powerful in the latter people against the English than in the people of England against the French. The American colonies had determined to dissolve the bond that connected them with the mother country, and to declare themselves independent of the crown of England. Every argument used to justify this violent separation was calculated to teach the discontented that they might throw off their allegiance with impunity, and a prudent monarch should have seen that he was most sedulously called upon to guard against their introduction into his empire; but the court of

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 France joins America.
 

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France was so strongly tempted by the opportunity of humbling an old antagonist, that it seemed to overlook all consequences, and injudiciously lent its aid to achieve the triumphs of rebellion. One of the American leaders was admitted at Paris in the character of ambassador, and large armies and fleets were fitted out and sent to the continent of the new world, where they fought side by side with those who maintained that taxation was a fraud—that both the nobles and clergy were like locusts, that devoured the fruits of the earth—and that kings themselves were nuisances, whose dominions they were fighting to get rid of.

The forces of America and France acted in conjunction for nearly six years, and when the French troops embarked for their own country, they returned to tell their comrades and neighbours at home, that the king's supremacy was a vulgar error, for that they had been assisting a people to overthrow the established law, and to reduce the burthens of taxation by governing themselves.

Whether or not America would have succeeded in securing her independence without the co-operation of France, has occasioned diversity of opinion; but as the king had contributed largely to its actual acquirement, his share of éclat was very considerable. It is not in the French character to look beyond the glitter of the moment, and therefore neither the king nor the people saw the immediate consequences of their sublime speculations.

M. Necker, the then minister of finance, had, during the war, says a respectable writer, “attempted the brilliant paradox of defraying the expenses without burdening the people by new taxes. He had raised loans on the annual savings obtained by a reduction of the public expenditure, and he would have been entitled to the

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Failure of the Caisse d'Escompte.

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eternal gratitude of the country, if that reduction had been real; but in spite of all the plausible representations of the minister, the revenue continued to be forestalled from year to year, and the ruin of the celebrated *Caisse d'Escompte* was the consequence of its reliance upon its paper transactions with the government.

As the affairs of France were greatly influenced by the failure of this pitiful bank, it will be necessary in this place to give some account of it. It was formed in 1776, about the time of M. Necker's appointment, by a company of private persons, and its capital was fixed at 500,000*l.* sterling. Its professed design was to discount bills at short dates, at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum; but this interest being evidently not equivalent to the capital sunk by the proprietors, they were allowed to issue notes to the amount of their capital, and, as they were not suspected of any intrigue with the government, by which they could be rendered incapable of converting into specie at any time all the notes they might so issue, their paper was in high credit.

As this discount office arose with the minister, there is much reason to suppose, notwithstanding the veil of mystery in which the whole transaction is involved, that it was used by him as one of the shifts by which he contrived to postpone the catastrophe of the government; for it only continued its payments a few months after his dismissal. The stock was considerably above par, and the credit of the *Caisse d'Escompte* wholly unsuspected, when every province was suddenly shocked by the news that it had stopped payment. Scarcely had the spirit of discontent, which this event occasioned, disseminated itself, when the bankruptcy of the government was also

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Abolition of the Torture.

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announced, by returning, unpaid, the bills that had been drawn upon it for paying the army in America.

A new expedient was attempted to raise the credit of the *Caisse d'Escompte*. The king was prevailed on to extend his protection to the company, and four successive edicts were passed, by which the banks in Paris were ordered to receive its notes as currency. A lottery was also established, with a stock of one million sterling, the tickets of which were made purchaseable in the like notes, and an arrangement was made for the payment of the bills drawn in America. By such means a temporary confidence was excited ; but an inquiry was afloat of too serious a nature to be satisfied by mere expedients. An attentive observer saw all the seeds of commotion scattering themselves abroad, through every family, and into every bosom, and the only subject left for speculation, was the manner in which it would commence.

In defiance of the childish attachment of the people to M. Necker, the king appointed M. de Fleury in his situation, and then M. d'Ormesson. M. Calonne, who, beside an acknowledged ability possessed the most refined and polished manners, followed afterwards. Nothing can, however, satisfy a people who are determined only to be satisfied in a certain way, and the king should have made his election, either to have given them all they wished, or to have temporised no longer.

There is no reason to doubt but the king was disposed to relax the severities of the government, and to improve the condition of the people, for he abolished the torture, which had been practised, till his time, in his dominions, and he also commuted the punishment of death, which had been inflicted for certain offences in

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Treaties with America—Holland and England.

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the army for one less cruel, but more exemplary—labour in the galleys. His mild and flexible disposition would probably have induced him to have conceded every point that justice and freedom could have required of him, had he happened to have been either supported or opposed by wise and temperate men. The queen, and the rest of his family, it is said, urged him to adhere to these principles of rule he had received from his ancestors; but he acted mildly or obstinately as he acted according to his own wish, or that of others—be it so—his misfortunes entitle him to pity; yet there can be no doubt but he might have saved himself, if he had possessed firmness enough to have decided for either despotism or liberty.

To secure the good-will of the people a treaty was entered into with America, by which it was stipulated that the States should reimburse the sums that France had expended on their account during the war, and the whole amount (18 million of livres) was to be paid by annual instalments in twelve years. A treaty offensive and defensive was entered into with Holland, as was also a commercial treaty with England. Every thing failed of its object. The most ill-natured constructions were put upon every attempt to conciliate, and which, instead of increasing satisfaction, served only to aggravate the general discontent.

Amidst the general ferment the principles of the American Revolution were easily to be discovered; the generous cry of liberty resounded every where; but the ideas conveyed by it were as different as the numerous situations of the persons by whom it was echoed. France contained a vast number of enlightened statesmen; yet an immense mass of the population was as ignorant as supersti-



tion and poverty could make them. Instead, therefore, of erecting a sublime system, that should ameliorate the condition of *all*, without operating oppressively upon any, the generality of Frenchmen understood nothing more by liberty than the removal of some particular burden, by which each was more immediately affected. Every one, however, complained of some sort of grievance; and though the gratification of one would have been an affliction to another, yet, as neither precisely knew his neighbour's definition of the term liberty, it became a common watch-word for them all.

In this season of sordid infatuation, the king was obliged to contract for a trifling loan, the demands for which had been of the most honourable and legitimate kind. The explanation of the minister was, that several disputes had arisen in some of the neighbouring states, in consequence of which large armies had assembled on the French frontier, and it had been thought necessary to take all the precautions that such an occasion required; a large sum had also been expended upon the fortifications of Cherbourg.

The parliaments of France were not exactly like those of England, although they did not differ so much as has been imagined. They were not chosen by the people as their legislative representatives, but their sanction was nevertheless necessary to give authority to the laws, and especially those for raising money. In England the government of France was always considered a despotism, yet the ministry, in the king's name, was obliged to go to parliament for the supplies, and the people were not obliged to submit to any ordinance that the parliaments resisted.

Those parliaments consisted mostly of lawyers, and in

## Remonstrance from the Parliament to the King.

general were obsequious enough to the king's will : but many instances had happened in which they had sacrificed their politeness to their patriotism, and principally at the conclusion of the late reign, when the parliament of Paris determined to resist some intolerant measures of the Catholic clergy, and incurred the displeasure of Louis XVth. in consequence. So firmly was this body determined to maintain its prerogatives, that they also refused to register the edicts which the king issued to raise new taxes, and were joined in the same determination by the parliaments of Brittany, Grenoble, and others, all of whom were sent into exile, and continued there till they were recalled by Louis XVI. at his ascension to the throne.

Having shewn so much firmness at a period when the light of philosophy scarcely rose above the political horizon, a greater degree of submission could not be expected from them at a time when that ferment had diffused itself far enough to question the propriety of every existing establishment. Reform was now called for by every body, but nobody could see exactly how it ought to be begun ; and, in their apprehension that they should miss their object, a disposition to suspect and quibble arose amongst all ranks. This made the attainment of their object more difficult, by inviting a contentious struggle of the passions to attend at a deliberation which ought only to have been entered upon by the most cool and temperate reasoner.

A jealousy of this kind alone could have induced the parliament of Paris to have remonstrated with the king for contracting the loan above alluded to. The amount was only three millions three hundred and thirty thousand pounds, and it was not pretended that any part of

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The King's Opposition to the Parliament.

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it had been improperly appropriated. When the deputation waited on the king to announce the querulous complaint, he assumed a degree of *hauteur* not usual in his manner, assuring the assembly that he would be obeyed, and ordered them to register his edict without further delay. The parliament complied ; but they passed a resolution, " That public economy was the only genuine source of abundant revenue, the only means of providing for the necessities of the state, and restoring the credit, which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin."

The king should have been satisfied with the submission that granted him all he asked, and have suffered the spirit of the parliament to have vented itself in a written bravado ; but, on the contrary, he was so weak as to send for the deputation, and ordered the resolution to be erased from their records ; and, as a strong mark of his displeasure, dismissed one of their officers, who was most active in promoting the resolution. At the same time he observed, " That though it was his pleasure that the parliament should communicate by its respectful representations whatever might concern the good of the public, yet he never would allow them so far to abuse his clemency, as to erect themselves into the censors of his government."

The violence of this doctrine taught the patriots that they must not venture any further resistance until they could strengthen themselves, and the minister was so well aware of the determined refractoriness of their disposition, that he made no attempt at conciliation. In this situation, to impose new taxes was impracticable ; to continue borrowing would hasten destruction ; to rely upon economical reforms would be found wholly inadequate ; and he declared, that it would be impossible to place the finances on a solid basis but by a general reform of all

## Meeting of the Notables.

that was vicious in the state. It was a dilemma of no common kind, and the instructions of history were necessary to guide him through the difficulty.

The antient and legitimate assembly of the nation was called the states-general, but they had not met since the times of Louis the XIIIth; and the supercilious arrogance of the court would not be likely to agree to a convocation that would be sure to demand some concessions in favor of the people.

Under those circumstances M. Calonne recommended the convention of another assembly, which had occasionally been substituted for the states-general. This was known by the title of the Notables, because they consisted of persons of the greatest notoriety, selected by the king, and summoned to attend him as a sort of extra council. Writs were issued for calling this assembly, and they were to meet on the 29th of January, 1787, to the number of 140. When they arrived at Paris, the minister was not ready to lay his plans before them, and the meeting did not take place till the 22d of February. Amongst them were seven princes of the blood, with the principal nobility, ecclesiastics, military men, and lawyers.

M. Calonne displayed the state of the kingdom to the assembly, and accounted for the deficiency of the revenue to the time that he entered upon the administration, which he proposed to provide for by a territorial impost, something like the land-tax in England, and several alterations in the mode of managing the internal taxation already established.

The spirit of the measures that he recommended were, that no rank or order of men were to be exempted, and

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*The Minister falls, and retires to England.*

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to make an inquiry into the possessions of the clergy, in order that they might be assessed with an equitable proportion of the public burdens. Such a proposition to such an assembly, was like asking robbers for justice, and cupidity for a generous spirit. The Notables not only refused to sanction these taxes, but also denied the necessity of any increase of the revenue whatever. M. de Brienne, Archbishop of Thoulouse, was sanguine in opposing these measures, and he was very warmly seconded by M. de Mirabeau, who also received great aid from the talents and influence of M. de la Fayette.

An opposition so unprincipled may be characterized as a very cunning mode of tormenting a minister; but there are few who will look on it, even in appearance, as a struggle for liberty. It was an opposition of a most factious and sordid kind, and no stronger proof of the stupidity of the French can be necessary, than that they could confound it with the cause of freedom. Mirabeau, La Fayette, and the archbishop, were called upon to adopt a plan of equal taxation, which was to relieve the people from oppression; in opposing this measure they owned themselves the champions of despotism, and yet they persuaded their infuriated countrymen that they were the only true heroes of the rights of man!

The design of the minister to equalize the public burdens, and, by rendering the taxes general, make the load bear easier upon the lower classes of the people, was, clearly, just and patriotic; but it united the higher orders against him, and the event was such as might be expected; the intrigues of the nobility, clergy, and magistrates, raised so loud an opposition to him, that, finding it impossible to stem the torrent, he not only resigned, but retired to England from the storms of persecution.

## CHAPTER III.

THOUGH the conflicts of opinions ran high in France at this time, the attention of parties was turned from their own affairs, by the events that were passing in other countries.

The people of England had resisted an obnoxious impost upon retail shopkeepers, which the minister had apparently resolved to maintain against all opposition. This tax seemed indirectly to sanction the unjust principle of exemption, and it was censured with so much severity, that it was abandoned, after a struggle of almost two years.

In Holland a contention of a different kind agitated the public mind. The government was nominally vested in the Prince of Orange, as Stadtholder, or head of the states ; but was really lodged in the power of the states-general, or congress, consisting of representatives from the seven provinces. All affairs of general consequence were directed by this body, while those of internal administration were entirely under the direction of the burgo-masters. Both those classes had, by a frequent return to power, and by an artful combination, transformed themselves into an hereditary aristocracy, for they could prevent the representation going out of their own families, and nothing was wanting to change them into an hereditary government, but the removal of the Stadtholder. To this minister (for he was nothing else) they allowed just

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 State of Parties in Holland.
 

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power sufficient to leave him open to blame in case of misfortune, but not sufficient to entitle him to praise in case of success.

Wealth, power, and insolence, were the trinity of these wretches; and because England refused to gratify their cupidity by sanctioning the illegal trade they carried on with her enemies during the American war, under the mask of neutrality, they consequently became the enemies of England, and revenge as naturally threw them into the arms of France.

Then it was that the two parties were formed in Holland, which have since been distinguished as the French and English parties. A long and favorite object of the French court had been to establish a supreme control in the affairs of Holland, and the patriots, as those people styled themselves, might, in their present infuriated state of mind, be bought at an easy price. Louis had, therefore, encouraged their factious opposition, and the Stadtholder, through necessity, allied himself to the English.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that by the spirited conduct of the Princess of Orange, and a small army dispatched by her brother the King of Prussia, these demagogues were sent back to their shops and their barns. They had resolved to maintain their object by force of arms, and ordered their general, the Rhingrave of Salm, to defend the country against the Prussians and English; but, when he told them that it would require money, it seemed that all their patriotism was left at home, for they expected their supplies to be sent by the King of France; and accordingly, when the Prussians arrived at Utrecht, there were neither cannon, ammuni-

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Reforms.

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tion, provisions, soldiers, nor even workmen, to repair the fortifications. As to the great men themselves, the rhingrave says, that instead of being at Alphen, where they were all to rally, and be ready when called for, every one imagined, or at least assigned, a plausible reason to prove that his presence was absolutely necessary at his own house.

Whilst these operations were going on, a scene of a different kind was preparing in Belgium. The emperor Joseph, among the plans he adopted for the benefit of his people, disclaimed all submission to the authority of the pope in secular concerns; and he suppressed many monasteries, and regulated others.

The people of Belgium were then, as they still are, the most stupid bigots upon the continent; and as that was the strong-hold of the priesthood, the good emperor began his reforms there first. He declared Ostend a free port, and raised it to great importance in a short time. The Scheldt he could not navigate, as it had been blockaded by the treaty of Westphalia, and several powers threatened him with a war, if he attempted to use *his own* river contrary to their iniquitous pretensions. He, however, intended to have opened a canal from Antwerp, through Bruges and Ostend, to the sea, sufficient for the navigation of large ships; but before his plan was arranged, the clergy so far perverted the minds of their besotted followers, that they rallied around them in rebellion against that monarch, who was hourly exposing himself to the assassination and intrigues of the court and clergy of Rome, for the sake of his people.

The bigoted Belgians, headed by their maddened priests, armed themselves in defence of the antiquated



corruptions, which had exhausted all their resources, and spread desolation and misery over their whole country. They rejected all the liberal efforts of their benefactor, and annoyed his government by their treasons, till the priests had contrived to poison him, and secured the wages of their treachery by the vilest of crimes.

The assembly of the Notables gave the parties an opportunity of trying their strength, and the result was unfavorable to the court. Beside what took place upon the revenue, the state prisons and *lettres de cachet* were made subjects of animadversion.

The Archbishop of Thoulouse made himself very popular by his opposition to M. Calonne's plans, and the king, in the hopes of being instructed in what was satisfactory, appointed this prelate to the ministry; but, in place of adopting a new system, when the Notables were dismissed, he pursued almost the same steps as those he had complained of, and the states-general were loudly called for by the whole nation.

A strong aversion to calling an assembly of representatives, seems to have made the king stretch his authority to its utmost, to convert the parliament into abject tools of submission. Edicts were handed to them, as if the subject had undergone no discussion, and they were required to grant the new taxes. The parliament refused in the most positive terms; and Louis, as the last resource of his absolute authority, held a *bed of justice*, and compelled them to enrol the impost.

These beds of justice were but seldom resorted to in the most despotic times, and even then it was like the last solemn appeal to the king's authority. He was seated

## Banishment of the Parliament.

on his throne in the parliament, and the enrolment took place by his order, as the supreme head of the refractory assembly.

The parliament, though defeated, was not subdued; and, on the following day, the members entered a formal protest against the proceedings, declaring, "That the edicts were enrolled, contrary to their resolutions, by the king's express command—that they neither ought to have, nor should have any force—and that he who should presume to carry them into execution, should be adjudged a traitor; and condemned to the gallies." This spirited declaration left the king no other alternative; than either proceeding to extremities in support of his authority, or relinquishing it altogether.

Since the commencement of the general discontent, the capital was filled with large bodies of troops; and, about a week after the parliament had entered the protest, an officer of the guards was sent; at break of day, with a party of soldiers, to each member, to signify the king's command, that he should immediately proceed to Troyes, a city of Champagne, about seventy miles from Paris, without speaking or writing to any person out of his own house before his departure. These orders were all observed at the same moment; and, before the citizens of Paris knew of the transaction, their representatives were already on the road to the place of their banishment.

Banishment had no other effect on the parliament than to confirm the members in their resolution; but several of the other parliaments evinced a degree of spirit that confounded the court, and paralysed all its measures. The parliament of Grenoble immediately at

tacked the most powerful engine the government possessed for enforcing obedience to its mandates, by declaring it to be a capital crime for any person to attempt to execute *lettres de cachet* within its jurisdiction. The only step then necessary to commence a civil war in the country was, to pass a decree of outlawry against those who had caused the exile of the parliament of Paris. The king did not wish to provoke such a measure, and he therefore recalled the parliament.

Several economical regulations had taken place in the royal household; but the public expenditure still far exceeded the revenue, and it was evidently impossible for the government to proceed without some very extraordinary resources being opened for its supply.

About the middle of November, 1787, in a full meeting of the parliament, the king entered the assembly, attended by all the princes, and a great number of the peers of France, and addressed them in a speech of uncommon length, filled with professions of regard for the people, but, at the same time, strongly expressive of the obedience he expected to his command for registering the edicts.

Louis probably imagined that the dread of the banishment, from which the members had been so lately recalled, would have insured the acquiescence of the assembly; but, no sooner had the members permission to deliver their sentiments, than he was convinced that their spirits were wholly unsubdued. A debate took place, which was continued for nine hours, when the king, wearied by constant opposition, and chagrined at the freedoms used, suddenly rose, and ordered the edict to be registered without further delay. This was most unex-

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Duke of Orleans and Two Members banished.

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pectedly opposed by the Duke of Orleans, who, conceiving it an infringement of the rights of parliament, protested against the whole proceedings of the day, as being thereby null and void. Though the king could not conceal his astonishment and displeasure at this bold and decisive step, he repeated his orders, and immediately afterwards quitting the assembly, departed for Versailles. On the departure of his majesty, the parliament confirmed the protest of the Duke of Orleans, and declared, that as their deliberations had been interrupted, they considered the whole business of the day as of no effect.

The agitation of the king was excessive; he could not suffer such an attack upon his power with impunity, although he might lament the impetuosity which had induced him to provoke it. Accordingly, a letter was the next day delivered to the Duke of Orleans, commanding him to retire to one of his country seats, and to receive no company there except his own family. At the same time the Abbé Sabbatieri and M. Freteau, both members of the parliament, who had distinguished themselves in the debate, were seized, under the authority of *lettres de cachet*, and sent to distant prisons,

These despotic measures excited the indignation of the public. On the following day the parliament waited on the king, and expressed their astonishment and concern that a prince of the blood was exiled, and two of their members imprisoned, for having declared before him what their duty and consciences dictated, and at a time when his majesty had declared that he came to take the sense of the Assembly, by a plurality of voices. The king's answer was reserved, forbidding, and unsatisfactory, and increased the resentment of the parliament;

yet the members acted with more moderation upon this than upon any other occasion, for they assembled and registered the edict for the loan, which was the cause of the unfortunate dissension.

The king was so pleased with the unexpected generosity of the parliament, that he immediately ordered the two members to be released from prison, and to be confined to their own country-seats. Louis, who when left to pursue his own inclinations, adopted conciliatory measures, did not long hesitate. In the beginning of the year 1788 he recalled the Duke of Orleans to court, who soon after had leave to retire to England, and he permitted the two exiled members to return to the capital.

The parliament, however, did not confine their deliberations to the breach of their privileges; they considered the despotic use made of the *lettres de cachet* as quite incompatible with the freedom of debate, and they followed the example of their fellows of Grenoble, in declaring against the legality of these instruments, and Louis was again instigated to measures of severity. Messrs. d'Espremenil and Monsambert, whose bold harangues had pressed most closely on the royal dignity, were doomed to experience its immediate resentment. A body of armed troops surrounded the hotel in which the parliament were convened, while Colonel Degout entered the assembly, secured the persons of the obnoxious members, and conducted them to different prisons.

This exertion of arbitrary power called forth a remonstrance from the parliament, which in boldness exceeded all the representations of that assembly. They declared that they were more strongly confirmed, by every proceeding, of the innovation aimed at the constitution.

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The Cour Plénière.

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"But, sire," added they, "the French nation will never adopt the despotic measures to which you are advised, and whose effects alarm the most faithful of your magistrates. We shall not repeat all the unfortunate circumstances that afflict us; we shall only represent to you, with respectful firmness, that the fundamental laws of the kingdom *must not* be trampled upon, and that *your authority can only be esteemed, so long as it is tempered with justice.*"

The parliament called loudly for the states-general to be assembled. Every effort was used to avoid assembling them, as if the king had known the ultimate object of the patriots, but could not prove it by satisfactory evidence.

If the ministry were not among the best of men, they were certainly not the most contemptible.—They could appreciate the exact condition of the kingdom, and they contrived, as a kind of *dernier resort*, a council the most suitable to the then situation of the country that could have been devised. It was founded upon better principles, and was to afford a new and better system of jurisprudence than the kingdom had hitherto been governed by, and at the same time that it would have avoided the mischiefs of the states-general. M. Lamoignon, keeper of the seals, was the author of this arrangement, which was to be called the *Cour de Pléniere*, and was to be composed of princes, peers, magistrates, and military men, and to include some of the best characters of the nation.

The parliament of Paris protested against the appointment, and declared they never would assist at any deliberation at such an assembly. The contest between the parliament and the court was so violent, that, while the

former was sitting, a regiment of soldiers was ordered to surround the house. The members sent out for beds and provisions with seeming indifference, and it was thought necessary to proceed to greater severities to bring them to submission. An officer was ordered to seize the most spirited, and shut them up in prisons, which order was executed; but a solemn protest being entered against these proceedings, his majesty was advised to shut up the place of their deliberations, and to suspend all the parliaments throughout the kingdom.

Deputations arrived from the parliaments of Grenoble, Thoulouse, &c. with remonstrances against the *Cour Plénier*e; these were sent to the Bastille without ceremony, which caused partial insurrections in many parts of the country, and convinced the court that reliance was not to be placed on the troops; numbers of the people were killed in these skirmishes, but, in general, they kept their ground, and the parliaments expressed their indignation and resentment in the most glowing language. The necessity of assembling the states-general was urged from all parts of the kingdom; and Louis saw that no other means were left him of saving the country from the calamities of a civil war. In the mean time the popular party lost no time in strengthening itself: inflammatory writings were distributed among the people, and placards were stuck upon the gates and public buildings, charging the people with cowardice for submitting to the arbitrary measures of the government. The vilest censures were poured upon the royal family, chiefly upon the queen, who was charged with stimulating every violent proceeding; and enigmatical sentences,

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The States-General ordered to be assembled.

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some written and others printed, exciting the people to revolt, were liberally distributed and read with avidity.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

AT this time the conflicts assumed a new appearance every day, and a week in France produced as many events as an age elsewhere. The king resolved to gratify the wish of the nation by summoning the states-general : a change of ministry took place, and the favorite, M. Necker, was recalled to office ; yet the lower orders of the people, who were always devoted to their sovereign, not only treated these friendly measures with indifference, but became ferociously insolent to the authority and person of their king.

An arrêt was issued by the king, in August 1788, to assemble the states-general in the spring of the following year, and the interval was employed by the clubs in ripening the plans and preparing them for execution.

By every considerate person the assembling of the states-general was regarded as the most important era in the history of France. The first question related to the number of which it should consist, and this M. Necker was too politic to determine of himself, he therefore, once more, summoned the notables, and applied to them for



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Violent Storm in France.

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advice; but this mercenary body, who neither cared for king nor people, thinking they could preserve their own privileges, only increased the difficulties by a frivolous adherence to precedents that were no longer applicable to the circumstance. It was at last settled, by declaring that the number should be twelve hundred, and that the commons, or *tiers état*, as they were called, should be equal to the other two estates together. This arrangement equally satisfied the king and the people, but it was far from agreeable to the sordid disposition of the aristocracy or the clergy: their pride was roused to the highest, to learn that one hundred thousand nobles, and eighty thousand priests, were not considered of more consequence than twenty-five million of plebeians! and if the privileged orders thought themselves degraded, the clubs were busily prepared to increase their mortification.

During the time of the elections the spirit of discontent and tumult, which prevailed all over France, was augmented by a scantiness of the necessaries of life, little short of a famine, which was occasioned by a violent storm; and, like the great revolution that was then preparing, this event was the most tremendous of the kind that ever happened in Europe.

On the morning of Sunday, the 13th of July, 1788, most of the extensive kingdom of France was involved in solemn darkness, which was succeeded by a dreadful commixture of hail, rain, thunder, lightning, and wind, uniting their fury to destroy every appearance of corn, vintage, and vegetation. Dismay and horror diffused themselves through the land, as if the consummation of all things was fast approaching; and the people, on

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*The King meets the States-General.*

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their way to church, were so beaten by the tempest, that they fell prostrate on the earth, now converted into a quagmire, by the concussion of the elements. The damages occasioned by the hurricane, were supposed to amount to four millions sterling, and the misery it inflicted upon the people was of the most distressing kind.

To alleviate the distresses of the unhappy sufferers, the King ordered the profits of a lottery, amounting to twelve hundred thousand livres, to be divided amongst them; and forgave them all the taxes for a year, from the time of their calamity: the benevolence of the Duke of Orleans was also very extensive. Not only did this desolating event promote the revolution by the distress it occasioned, but it gave the people opportunities of forming tumultuous assemblies, that the government could not restrain: what cruel measures of police could censure the people for endeavouring to get bread? Their business called them to the baker's shops, and murmurs upon a particular subject easily received a more general application; so that every street became a public forum, where men, women, and children, indiscriminately mixed together to arraign the conduct of the court.

At length the period arrived, that was fondly expected by the great mass of the people, to end all the disorders and tumults of the kingdom. His Majesty met the States-General on the 4th of May, 1789, in one assembly, and left them, without remarking the contention that was in embryo, relative to voting in separate chambers.

The Abbé Sieyes prevailed upon the commons to alter their style and put an end to the dispute, for the general satisfaction of the people. His motion was,

"That they should declare themselves the representatives of the nation, and that the two orders could be considered in no other light than as deputies of corporations, who could only have a deliberate voice when they assembled in a national character with the national representatives." This measure was adopted unanimously; and the character of States-general was lost in that of "The National Assembly," which instantly became the uncontrollable sovereign of the country.

Every pretension to distinct legislative power was annihilated by this decree; and all opposition to it was looked on as a sort of rebellion: all the moderate men, therefore, of the two orders, joined the National Assembly.

A regular royal, noble, and clerical combination was then formed, with a view to overthrow the National Assembly; but all their proceedings were so contemptible, that they should have been ridiculed for their folly rather than punished for their wickedness. Measures were taken for collecting a large number of troops round the metropolis, and it was meant to station a considerable body of them between Paris and Versailles, where the Assembly met; but, instead of suffering the sittings to continue till the troops had arrived, their session was closed by a party of soldiers taking possession of their chamber. This impolitic step prepared both the Assembly and the citizens for the attack that was about to be made upon their rising liberties, although it produced none of the advantages the combination expected from it; for the Assembly met immediately, in a tennis-court, and there swore to each other, "Never to separate till they had formed a new constitution!"

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King holds a Royal Session.

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Preparations were made by the patriotic clubs for training their friends in different parts of the kingdom in the use of arms, and a short time would have furnished a body powerful enough to have made a diversion in favor of the Assembly, in case attempt had been made to arrest them. Such a precaution was unnecessary, for the members again took quiet possession of their own chamber, and the government seemed to possess no other function than that of furnishing means to the Assembly to secure its triumph.

The King was persuaded to hold a Royal Session, and the three orders were summoned to attend him, as if no dispute had happened. They all met in the great hall, as on the first day of the convocation: the two privileged orders entered at the great gates, the same as his Majesty, and were seated at their ease in the chief places which were assigned to them, while the representatives of the people were obliged to squeeze in at a back door, and were detained many hours in the rain, till "their lordships" and "their reverencies" were seated! A speech was delivered by the King upon the occasion, suited only to the darkest ages of political servility, and incompatible with the opinions adopted by the whole people. He began by lamenting the disputes that had taken place about the form of the meeting, and insisted upon the orders being kept separate, for which purpose he desired the Commons to annul the famous decree by which they had constituted the National Assembly,—a submission that it was a great folly to expect; for if they found that no other power could dissolve them, it was not likely that they would commit suicide upon them.

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Resolution of Mirabeau.

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selves, especially as they continued to be joined by deserters from the other two orders. Louis did not fail to assure them of his co-operation to improve the laws and the condition of the people, but he promised nothing specific; and he absolutely refused his assent to some of their most favorite projects. His principal wish seemed to be to impress the Assembly with a sense of his own greatness, and that whatever good was done, they would owe it to his entire condescension. The Commons listened to him with silent indignation, which he raised to the highest degree, by commanding the deputies to break up immediately upon his departure, and to repair, on the following day, to their respective chambers.

His Majesty's command was instantly obeyed by the nobles and clergy, but the Commons remained motionless, although the workmen were busied in taking down the throne and other decorations. Amidst the awful silence that ensued, M. de Breze, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, approached, and signified that the king had ordered them to retire: but he, as well as the workmen, was struck with awe upon receiving a severe rebuke from the Count de Mirabeau, who had greatly distinguished himself by the vigor of his mind, and the power of his eloquence. "We know, for we have heard," said Mirabeau, "what they have suggested to the King, but who made you the organ between him and the States-General? You! who have neither seat, nor voice, nor right to open your lips here; how dare you to bring his discourse to our recollection! However, to avoid every species of equivocation and delay, if you are ordered to expel us from this place, you will do well to get orders

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The People rejoiced—Hail the Royal Family with acclamations.

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for the employment of a suitable force, for we will only quit it at the point of the bayonet."

The situation of the assembly dictated two resolutions, which were passed unanimously; the one, "that they persisted in their former declarations,"—and the other, "that the persons of the deputies were sacred and inviolable." This spirited conduct made many of the nobles, together with the Duke of Orleans, join the assembly on the following day; and on the 27th of June, four days after the royal session, the King recommended the remaining number of the two orders to unite with the Assembly.

Though this contradiction, by forbidding and recommending a union in so short a period, was evident, the people did not appear to doubt the sincerity of the proceeding. The news spread with the greatest rapidity; and the inhabitants of Versailles, considering that Louis had accomplished the salvation and happiness of the nation, ran to the palace and saluted the royal family with repeated acclamations of gratitude. M. Necker also, who was thought to have advised his Majesty to adopt this conciliatory measure, was hailed as the warmest friend of the country, and the joyful day was concluded by a general illumination.

The public now looked with anxious expectation to the labors of the National Assembly, as it was impossible to oppose any legal objection to their proceedings. In the interim all authority was, in some manner, suspended: their endeavors were chiefly directed to the formation of a new constitution, and the general persuasion that the existing laws were to be abolished *in toto*, taught the rude and unthinking to despise them; and the ad-

ministration of the police doubted whether they could enforce what was thus generally declared to be vicious.

Unfortunately, at this time neither of the parties were sincere with each other: part of the Assembly intended to convert the monarchy into a republic; but they could not have avowed their design at first, because the people would have rejected so desperate and unjust a measure; in a manner that must have precluded the possibility of its being repeated, and therefore their determination was to drive the King to extremities, so that, by degrees, he might become odious to the people. At the same time the court never meant to grant the Assembly all the liberty that was promised to it, and the apparent compliance with its wishes was merely a stratagem to allay the uneasiness of the populace, and put the Assembly off its guard for a period, during which a force might be collected able to crush them altogether.

Among the fervid imaginations that took their flight upon this occasion, was that of the Marquis de Valadi, an officer who had served in the French guards, and among the savages of America had learned that his own manner of life was so much better than what any one else could display, that he would cut the throats of one half of mankind, if by so doing he could force his system upon the other. This gentleman was a warm admirer of the new cause of liberty, because it released him from the painful necessity of consulting the comforts and conveniences of others; and, being one of a cabal that now met at the residence of the Duke of Orleans, he invited as many of his comrades to the entertainment as he could prevail upon to attend. The reception these truant soldiers met with, was of the most cordial and flattering kind,

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**People join to release some Soldiers.**

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and numbers were encouraged to follow their example: the charms of liberty were sounded in the ears of the soldiers, and they were pathetically implored not to assist in shedding the blood of their fellow-citizens. From those feasts the visitors were conducted in procession through the city, and every seduction of female charms and good cheer, which the immense revenues of the Palais Royal could provide, were plentifully distributed, to allure them into an approbation of the measures of the Assembly.

Soon after the Assembly had united, a circumstance happened which strongly marked the character likely to be assumed by the revolution. Some soldiers of the French guards were imprisoned in the Abbey of St. Germain, who, upon learning the disorder that prevailed in different corps, wrote to the Palais Royal, and, with the confident gaiety natural to the French, described themselves as having been arrested for their attachment to the people, and that they were then sufferers in the cause of liberty. The letter was read by one of the orators, of whom many were now constantly seen lecturing to crowds in the public walks; and, in the intoxication of the moment, the whole multitude resolved upon liberating their fellow-citizens: the patriotic soldiers, the bludgeon, the pickaxe, and the crow, were put in requisition, and a motley multitude proceeded to distribute justice, without preserving even the forms of trial!

The consequence from such a tribunal should have been apparent to every sober man in France; it could as easily inflict punishment as proclaim liberty; and the danger arising from such a state of things, ought to have united every honest man against those irregular proceedings.



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The Assembly recommends Moderation.

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No effectual resistance was made at the prison, and a party of dragoons, ordered out upon this occasion, arrived just time enough to see the released soldiers borne in triumph as the heroes of the day. The generosity of a mob-government burst upon them with such irresistible charms, that they could not resist joining in the cavalcade, and the success of this attempt encouraged the frantic malcontents to inflict the severest penalties in the same despotic manner.

Accounts of these proceedings were laid before the Assembly, who endeavoured to preserve as much respect for the public authority as they could, without provoking the hasty disapprobation of the rabble. The soldiers were not imprisoned for their politics, but for different crimes, yet it would have been dangerous to have contradicted the vociferations of the mob; it was now a powerful despot, and, like the most imperial tyrant, would not allow itself to be mistaken: the Assembly, therefore, submissively recommended as the most convenient compromise between order and disorder, that the rioters should keep the prisoners under care till the King could be prevailed upon to send a pardon for them. By this, the shadow of authority was preserved, though the substance had departed.

The court made no objection to this, as the forces that had been ordered to march to the capital were now approaching so fast, that a few days, it was thought, would transfer the public authority from the weapons of the discontented and the disorderly to the point of the bayonet. Most of the foreign troops in the king's pay were upon their march, and the frequent disturbances afforded a pretence for establishing a

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The King proposes to remove the Parliament.

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camp in the neighbourhood of Paris. Several messages were sent to the King upon this subject by the Assembly, but he assured them that his only object was to restore tranquillity. The uneasiness of the members increased, and the King answered their complaints in a way that only served to increase their suspicions. "The troops," said he, "are indispensably necessary in Paris, but you may remove your sittings to Noyon or Soissons, in which case I will repair to Compeigne." This proposal could not possibly be accepted, as it would have placed the Assembly between the princes in Paris and those on the frontiers, while it would have excluded all assistance from their friends in the capital.

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## CHAPTER V.

MUTUAL explanations and jealousies, frequent paroxysms of frenzy, and various attempts to form a new constitution, brought the proceedings of the National Assembly down to the eleventh of July, when the elements of restless discord began to lour on the expanse of political combination, with such a menacing aspect, that the imagination became bewildered by the vast catalogue of miseries that were announced, and the mind seemed to stagger beneath the weight of its own conjectures. The Count de Mirabeau had expressed himself so forcibly on the symptoms of a dangerous conspiracy on the part of the court against the deliberations and existence of the

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**The Ministry dismissed.**

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Assembly, that the popular party looked to him as a deliverer, and the court evidently began to hasten its preparations for some desperate explosion.

The confidence of the Assembly and the people had reposed for some days upon one point only: M. Necker was considered the firm friend of liberty; and it was thought impossible that any hostile measures could be attempted, so long as he remained in the ministry; the court endured rather than employed him, and his dismissal from office was resolved upon, the moment the force was thought sufficient to triumph over the public voice. "The ministry is dismissed, and Necker is sent into exile!" was echoed by every voice throughout Versailles, and the most unfeigned sorrow was depicted on every countenance. A new administration was appointed, composed of the most violent enemies of liberty, and every one expected that the foreign troops would receive orders to seize upon the Members of the Assembly without delay.'

Such important intelligence would, upon ordinary occasions, have been circulated throughout Paris in a few hours; but all the high roads and direct ways had become so barricadoed, that no person, not even the post, could pass to convey the news. It arrived circuitously, and by slow degrees; and when it was first related, it was treated as a report, wickedly invented to excite confusion: at last it reached the Palais-Royal, in a shape that would no longer admit of a doubt. The minister was gone no one knew whither, and the representatives of the people might be already incarcerated in the dungeons of the state. It is impossible to describe the agitation that instantaneously convulsed the whole people of Paris. It was a mixture of indignation and grief hurried on impe-

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*Camille Desmoulins—the Prince of Lambesc.*

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tuously by all the anxieties of doubt. Pleasure could no longer please, and the least indication of joy was considered as a crime. All the theatres were immediately closed, by order of the people.

The busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans were carried about the streets, covered with crape, and the air resounded with their names. It was even suggested, that the King should be dethroned, and the Duke of Orleans appointed his successor, as the certain means of effecting the return of their favorite. The bells of the churches were tolled, and the people were collected in crowds upon the bridges, and in all the open places of the city, where the most fanciful and loquacious inflamed their indignation with anticipations of military vengeance and executions, to which the late tumults had exposed them.

The Palais-Royal became the grand rendezvous, and was the most convenient spot for rallying all the forces of the city, as well on account of its being nearly in the middle of Paris, as of the ready access it afforded to all descriptions of people. In one place, Gorsas, an obscure schoolmaster, with Ciceronian eloquence, was stimulating his audience; and in another, Camille Desmoulins, an advocate of considerable talents, was irritating the passions of the multitude by every species of theatrical flourish that his imagination could suggest. With a pistol in each hand Camille was vehemently harranguing, to prove that no man's life and liberty were secure for a single hour: when a report was circulated, that the Prince of Lambesc, in his march, had struck an old man with his sword. No pains were taken to examine whether the report was true or false; or whether, if true, the Prince had been stimulated by anger, or a humane desire of

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The People defeat a Regiment.

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saving the aged person from being trampled under his horse's feet: a skirmish had ensued between the troops and the people, and a universal cry of "To arms! to arms!" impelled every creature to the field of action.

The Prince was found by the rallying citizens at the head of his cavalry, near to a spot where a new bridge was to be erected. Scarcely had they reached the ground, when they seized upon the stones, and, rushing impetuously upon the soldiers, broke their ranks, and threw them into the greatest confusion. The French guards, alarmed by the sound of musketry, rushed from their quarters, and putting themselves under the command of the Marquis de Valadi, flew to the relief of their countrymen. The foreign regiment was discomfited, and withdrew; whilst the citizens, flushed with victory, and gaining confidence from their numbers, were emboldened to undertake the most desperate enterprises.

In the evening of the 12th of July, the cavalry were driven out of Paris, and it was hourly expected that Marshal Broglie, who held the command of all the corps in the neighbourhood, and who was attached to the most despotic principles, would attempt to reduce the city. The silent hours of night were chased away by the clangour of alarms, and the different rude weapons that an irregular multitude could collect from the various domestic and manufacturing purposes to which they were usually applied, every house became a fortress, and every citizen a soldier. Morning arrived, but the Marshal did not make his appearance! All was suspense, but the mysterious delay had no tendency to restore the public tranquillity. It was evident that no motive could retard the interference of government but a desire to mature its plans, and as the danger would increase by the

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They march to attack the Bastille.

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length of time required to strengthen their measures, no time was to be lost in preparing to meet them.

The shops were all shut, and business entirely stopped. The electors of Paris were spontaneously formed into a provisional government, and the final issue of the contest was impatiently expected.

During the night of the 13th, means of correspondence were found between the Assembly and the Provisionary Municipality of Paris, when it was discovered that M. de Flesselles, the Mayor of Paris, who professed himself the friend of the citizens, was secretly taking measures to betray them into the power of Broglie. An intercepted correspondence proved, that the Marshal intended to enter the city on the following evening, when the people should be overcome by excessive fatigue, and be too weary to resist the allurements of sleep. Hostilities were sure to commence within a few hours, and, by gaining the plans of the Marshal, his defeat might be secured.

The Bastille, at once the fortress and the prison, was the first object of the citizens. It was there that all the satellites of the court would fix their head-quarters: it was there that both the deputies and their constituents would be stowed away in caverns and in cells. On the morning of the memorable FOURTEENTH of JULY, 1789, an army of forty thousand desperadoes, whimsically armed with offensive instruments of every description, intermingled with a few hundred of soldiers, commenced their march, vociferating throughout the city, "To the Bastille! to the Bastille!" They first attacked the *Hopital des Invalides*, where a large magazine of arms was kept. Scarcely any resistance was attempted, the magazine was stripped, and the glittering arms served to convert these raw recruits into confident soldiers,

When they arrived at the Bastille, a deputation from the Provisionary Municipality demanded admission in the name of the people. De Launay, the governor, was in a most critical situation—his duty to his sovereign forbidding him to yield to any other power, and his duty to his countrymen forbidding him to shed blood in any avoidable case.—He demanded a parley. “Deliver the keys!” was vociferated by the multitude. He hesitated. A shower of stones and fire of musketry might hasten his decision! the experiment was tried, and the governor resolved to stand a siege. Every attempt to effect a breach failed of success, and many of the people were killed. At length a private soldier got over the guard-house, and forced the first draw-bridge, by means of a hatchet, while others broke open the outer gate, and entered the court. These were soon repulsed and driven out of the court by the garrison. The conflict became most bloody, and the issue doubtful. The bodies of the wounded lay scattered on the ground, and the fury of the people increased even to madness.

At this critical moment two detachments of soldiers arrived, headed by two non-commissioned officers, and these were followed by a numerous train of volunteers, headed by a citizen Hulin, who had induced a number of the French guards also to join the people. This accession of strength invigorated the whole body! They set fire to some waggons of straw, and, by their means, burnt and destroyed the out-works. Several pieces of cannon were now brought to play upon the building; and the castle, after a few hours’ resistance, was at length taken by storm. The news darted through Paris as rapidly as the rays of the sun, and one unbroken shout declared the rapturous joys of the multitude.

## CHAPTER VI.

AFTER the taking of the Bastille, every individual, whether as spectator or assailant, began his own relation of the transaction, and it was reported, that the governor had decoyed a number of the people within the gates, and that, when he had them in his power, he cruelly put them to death. Of a man already the object of their hatred, on account of the situation he held, no stronger pretence was required for making him a signal example of vengeance.—There is no reason to believe that the report was true; as, if it had, the besiegers would not have suffered him to have existed a moment after they had surrounded him with their pikes; he was, however, not only considered as a prisoner of war, but they were proceeding with him to the *Hotel de Ville*, to deliver him to the magistrates, when the spirit of unrestrained power found that human victims were necessary to its continuation; and the mob fell instantly upon their prisoner, and hacked him to pieces. M. de Losme, an inferior officer, and M. de Flesselles, the Mayor, shared the same fate; having no other trophies of their renown, these ferocious dealers in human blood, mounted the bleeding heads of the Mayor and Governor upon their long poles, and bore them in savage procession through the streets to the National Assembly, during this conflict, were not in a condition either to assist or discourage any measures



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The Assembly made acquainted with the News.

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of the populace. Various reports of the intentions of the court, as alarming as they were unfounded, were circulated. At one moment the members were all to be seized, and, after being condemned as rebels, were to suffer torture; at another, the soldiers were marching, with a hundred pieces of cannon, to batter their hall to ruins, and bury the members in the rubbish! Some members exerted their eloquence to inspire fortitude and unanimity in the Assembly; and a remonstrance was sent to the King, on the general state of affairs, in consequence of the change in the ministry. The King answered in a style too proudly, and the Assembly passed a string of resolutions, declaring that no confidence whatever could be reposed in the new ministry; and resolved not to adjourn even during the night.

The perilous situation of the Assembly induced them to turn their attention to the completion of the new constitution; and a committee was, therefore, appointed, on the 14th of July, to report upon it without delay. At this moment, Viscount de Noailles unexpectedly appeared in the hall; he had escaped, he said, from Paris, and, with great difficulty, had contrived to pass the *patroles*. When he quitted Paris, the whole city had armed itself from the *Hopital des Invalides*, and the Bastille was besieged. He had not waited for the issue; and only knew, that the troops destined for the *Champs de Mars* were expected every moment to relieve the distress, which could not be effected without deluging the city in blood.

The whole Assembly was appalled at the dreadful intelligence. "Let us fly to the relief of our fellow-citizens!" cried some of the members: "Let us burst into the presence of the King," exclaimed a

Amesbury





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The News conveyed to the King.

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"and call upon him to behold the fruits of his councils : it is now time that he should decide whether he will be the king or the murderer of the people !"

A deputation had been dispatched to the King, but had not returned, although the hall of the Assembly was scarcely four hundred yards from the palace. During this interval, a deputation arrived from the electors (now the magistrates) of Paris, to the Assembly ; their report was something more precise than that of de Noailles, but the result had not transpired when they came away. The King's answer arrived ; it was unimportant and unmeaning, such as it might have been had he not been conscious of the calamities of his country. In fine, a third messenger reached the Assembly from Paris, and a third deputation was sent to the King.

His Majesty was then retired to rest, but moments were now too precious to be wasted in useless ceremony. The Duke de Liancourt ingenuously related the alarming aspect of affairs to the King, and, in a candid and friendly manner, explained to him the personal danger to which he was exposed. His Majesty was soon convinced that the Municipality of Paris, with a hundred thousand men in arms, would be able to send an army to Versailles sufficient to take him prisoner in his own palace. No more time was to be lost in temporizing. "What a terrible revolt !" exclaimed the King. "No, Sire !" observed the Duke, "it is no revolt, but a great revolution ; the nation demands only the inviolability of its representatives : when your Majesty's troops shall have left the National Assembly to the freedom of its discussions, there will not be found a discontented subject in the land."

The Count d'Artois, one of the King's brothers, had

incurred the severest animadversions of the people, in consequence of the hauteur of his manners: he was still adverse to conciliatory measures. "As for you, Sir," said de Liancourt, "a price is set upon your head; I have myself seen the act of proscription posted up in the streets."

This painful intelligence spread the greatest dismay and consternation throughout the whole court. The prince saw that his only security was in a precipitate flight; and the ministers followed his example with such rapidity, that they escaped before the accounts of the revolution could encourage the provincial patriots to close the barriers of the towns through which they passed.

The Duke de Liancourt having obtained the King's assurance that he would attend the Assembly, he communicated the intelligence shortly before his Majesty was ready to proceed. The Assembly resolved that the King ought to be received with silence. The visit was wholly unpremeditated on both sides, and no preparations were made for it. Without a body-guard, or any of the ensigns of royalty, the sovereign of the first empire in the world, who only a few days before had been attended to the same hall by the proudest race of nobles, and a long retinue of most magnificent attendants, now entered the Assembly, uncovered, and unsaluted by the slightest ceremonial, to implore protection against a lawless rabble.

Though the countenances of the members were not calculated to inspire the King with much confidence; yet he addressed the Assembly without any apparent embarrassment. He exhorted them to use their utmost endeavours to re-establish tranquillity; and assured the Assembly, that he relied upon them in this momentous

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He leaves the Hall, applauded by the People.

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crisis with the utmost confidence. At these words many demonstrations of joy burst forth from the seats occupied by the nobles and the clergy; most of the commons sat silent and unmoved: it was not enough that they had humbled the King, they must also attempt to degrade him, and their efforts to surmount the despotism of the monarchy, became converted into a desire to exercise a despotic power over the Sovereign himself. "I know," continued the King, "that unjust prejudices have been conceived; I know that false reports have been propagated, but is not my known character a sufficient answer to those malignant calumnies? I come," added he, "to declare to you, that I and my people are the same; my whole trust is in you; assist me to secure the salvation of the state. I have commanded the troops to retire; and I exhort you to assure the capital of the sincerity of my intentions."

At the conclusion of this speech the hall resounded with reiterated bursts of applause; and after the president had assured his Majesty that the Assembly would take the most effectual measures for restoring the public peace, the members all arose, and conducted the King to his palace.

When the King appeared, accompanied by the Assembly, the air was rent by shouts of joy, and blessings were poured upon his head, as if he were regarded as the deliverer of his people. The whole manner of the King seemed to be changed; and now that he had, as it were, escaped from the restraints of despotic pomp, he became eager to answer every one that pressed about him, and heard with the utmost affability the details which they were anxious to give of what had happened. According to appearances, both the King and the people had become free, and were both consequently happy.

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He arrives at the Hotel de Ville.

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The National Assembly now possessed the sovereign power in all its plenitude. A deputation, of eighty members, was dispatched from the Assembly to the capital; and Mr. Bailly, who had been their president, was appointed Mayor of Paris. The Marquis de la Fayette, who had also been president of the Assembly, was made commander of the national guards, and M. Necker, being recalled by the Assembly, resumed his situation as minister.

The same prudence that induced the King to visit the National Assembly, prompted him to visit the capital, and his journey was attended with equal success. On his approach to Paris he was met by M. de la Fayette, at the head of the national guards; a mixed multitude of the citizens of Paris, irregularly armed with different weapons, and shouting, "*Vive la Nation!*" indicated no disposition to treat him very respectfully. When his Majesty arrived at the *Hotel de Ville*, he was entreated to wear a cockade, that the people had assumed, as the ensign of their triumph; and, as he evinced no objection, the mob became somewhat reconciled to him. He was at one time, however, very near overturning all the effects of his good-nature; for one of the electors addressing him in a style of republican freedom, he was puzzled for an answer; but the Mayor adroitly stepped forward and relieved the King from the dilemma, by answering in his name.

The conduct of Louis upon this, as upon most other occasions, displayed a high degree of benevolence and goodness of heart; he seemed to indulge all the wishes of the people; and his conciliatory manners produced such an effect upon the multitude, that when he appeared at one of the windows, a general acclamation of "*Vive le*

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Insufficiency of Passports.

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*Roi !*" resounded from all quarters, in spite of the efforts of some malignant and unprincipled men, who mixed amongst the crowd, with a determination at all events to excite hatred against him.

The propagation of falsehood, and the various alarms excited by false reports, gave the triumphant party an opportunity of *creating so much government*, that they had places and offices to bestow upon the most insignificant of their retainers; and there was scarcely a street in Paris but had its governor appointed, to tell the citizens when they might be permitted to go abroad, and when they should be obliged to stay at home. This mischief was, however, much increased by the circumstance of the government being so divided, that what was law in one district, was not law in another; and the characters and fortunes of the people might be exposed according as they were in this or that section. Before any one could go abroad, it was necessary that he should be furnished with a card of civism from the municipality of his section; but a person might be an object of calumny in one district, who was known to be wholly innocent in another! and as no one was ever certain that his passport would not beguile him to a spot where ignorant officiousness might be waiting to place him within the fangs of suspicion, the most quiet and peaceable of the citizens saw no safety but in shutting themselves up in secret, and guarding their very looks from being construed into symptoms of treason against the inclinations of the mob.



## CHAPTER VII.

MOST of the princes of France imitated the measures adopted in the capital, and the jealousies of the people were roused upon the most trifling occasions, so that persons were constantly exposed to the greatest dangers, and numbers of individuals, of every class, found their only safety in emigrating from their country.

News every day arrived of the most dreadful crimes being committed in all parts of the kingdom, and these were suffered to continue without restraint, the Court and the Assembly being both influenced by the same base motive, a desire to attach all the odium to the other.

The clergy now saw the inefficacy of their system, of directing the attention of the people to the ceremonies of religion, instead of its precepts; for no sooner were these people released from the burthen of restraint, than they appeared to be evidently without the least moral influence. Forged letters, in the name of the National Assembly, and forged edicts, in the name of the King, were used, calling upon the people to withhold the tythes, to destroy the palaces, and burn the castles of their landlords and their priests: incitements like these were hardly wanting, for the weak ceremonies of the church of Rome had abandoned the morals of the French to the guardianship of the bayonet, which being now no longer apprehended, all the effects of animosity and revenge began to shew

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The Life of M. Benzeval demanded.

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itself, whilst ruin and desolation spread throughout the kingdom; more particularly in Dauphiné, Burgundy, Britany, and Franché-Compté, where the finest buildings were reduced to ashes.

The blood of M. Benzeval was loudly called for. This gentleman had commanded the Swiss troops, and it was said that he had written to M. de Launay, to defend the Bastille to the last, though no such letter was ever authenticated. M. Necker, who was greatly attached to this officer, wished to employ the popularity he had acquired among the people to soften their resentment; and on his first visit to Paris, after his recal, he took occasion to implore the Municipality, above all things to let their proceedings be guided by goodness, mildness, and justice, and to pass a general amnesty, by which the errors of M. Benzeval, and other misguided persons, might be forgiven, and an end put to those disgraceful scenes, a repetition of which, he added, would render him incapable of longer serving the public.

The minister's eloquence produced such an effect on the magistrates, that they immediately acceded to his request, and dispatched orders to Villenaux, where M. Benzeval was confined, to set him at liberty. Necker, pleased at the triumph his virtuous endeavours had gained over the factious disturbers of the public peace, hastened to communicate the joyful tidings to the King: however, he had scarcely arrived at Versailles before every thing that had been done was counteracted.

The crowd, who had assembled at the Hotel de Ville, had loudly applauded the minister's sentiments, and approved the act of oblivion by the most enthusiastic shouts; but the spirit of equivocation shortly discovered that the electors had not been appointed to the magistracy by any

written law, and therefore that they had no authority to prevent the shedding of blood! The legions of tumultuous rabble, at whose call the Municipality had been formed, and who had hailed them as the guardians of liberty, so long as they were regarded as accomplices in the murders that were perpetrated, now began to treat them as usurpers, whose arrogance and presumption deserved the most exemplary punishment. They were looked on as rebels, who had put themselves in opposition to the national representatives. Alarum bells were rung to call the people together, and preparations were made for besieging them in the town-house. Less terrific means would have induced them to repeal their decrees; and accordingly fresh couriers were dispatched to continue the arrest of M. Benzéval.

This act of submission was very graciously received; yet they could not forgive M. Necker for occasioning this instance of presumption, though their own proceedings proved how much they were convinced that such a measure was undoubtedly necessary.

The attention of the National Assembly was principally directed to the formation of a new constitutional code, until the 4th of August, when the distressing accounts that arrived from all parts of the country, obliged it to consider of the most effectual means of restoring tranquility to the kingdom. A more important sitting never was held, than that which occupied the Assembly on the evening of that day. The enormities which had been committed in almost every village, were such as threatened the destruction of the whole body; and all the feelings of selfishness and patriotism, of fortitude and fear, united to make some sacrifices necessary to the public happiness.

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 Abolition of Feudal Services.—Appointment of a new Ministry.
 

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The most animated debates that ever gave interest to any public proceedings continued, with scarcely any intermission, till the evening of the 5th of August, when a decree of emancipation was passed, by which every class of the community received an equal claim to public justice, and was relieved from unequal contributions to the public burdens. To complete the whole proceedings, and to give an air of solemnity, the King was complimented with the flattering title of "Restorer of French Liberty!" and the deputation having waited upon him with the decrees, he invited the Assembly to accompany him to sing *Te Deum* upon the occasion.

The opposition to the new constitution was now greatly reduced; for the decrees of the Assembly abolished feudal services and manorial jurisdictions, as well as the game laws, with the exclusive rights of chase, of fishing, of free-warren, and all those mischiefs which the peasantry had been obliged to suffer from the game of their privileged neighbours. The clergy were compelled to give up their tythes, after having voluntarily resigned their parochial fees, and resolved in no case to hold pluralities! It was also decreed, That the nation should discontinue the contributions which it had paid to the church of Rome; and every chartered right and special privilege, which divided France into separate provinces and corporations, was superseded by the concise declaration, That France should henceforth only be inhabited by one people, who should be known by no other appellation than that of French Citizens.

The civility of the Assembly to the King in the late proceeding, induced him to appoint a new ministry, in which he was so far fortunate, that his choice was approved of! yet the government was in no condition to

proceed, for the old malady in the finances was yet unremedied.

An opportunity was again offered of saving the country, and was again destroyed by the little passions of that *soi-disant* august Assembly. M. Necker presented himself in their hall, as minister of the finances, and requested their sanction to a loan of thirty millions of livres, as a measure of indispensable necessity; and every motive of sound policy should have induced the members to have given the most unqualified assent to the proposition, in order to have secured that confidence from the monied interest which it was willing to give, and which the proceedings of the Assembly had at that period done nothing to shake; but humbling the minister, as a punishment for the notions that he seemed to entertain of their authority, by asking a favour of the Municipality of Paris, was too precious to be neglected, and they declared their utter want of confidence in him, proposing other terms upon which they would have the loan contracted for. The result was, that they betrayed their total ignorance of financial affairs, and the contractors would advance no loan upon any terms whatever.

Public credit was now so far depressed, that the royal family were even obliged to send their plate and trinkets to be coined into cash, to pay the current expences of their household. The state was to be saved by a patriotic contribution, and the members began the farce in the Assembly, by suddenly presenting all their shoe-buckles, earrings, breast-pins, and other trinkets, to contribute to the national treasury.

The effect of this general donation was, that when it came to be cast up, it fell so far short of what was expected, that it insensibly left the impression upon every

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**Bold Measure proposed by the Minister.**

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one's mind, that something remained to be done, and caused the minister to propose the boldest measure that perhaps ever was attempted, even in the most despotic states. This extraordinary proposal was nothing less than that every man should pay the *fourth* of his income, by instalments, in the course of three years, to the support of the state.

Oppressive as this edict evidently was, it was adopted by those very people who had been assembled to correct the extravagance of the court when the King required the loan of a few millions ; but the patriots were now in power, and they resorted to a new doctrine, suited to the occasion.

Though this tax was smoothed with the appellation of a patriotic gift, and every person was to state his income, the Assembly were not inclined to rely upon it as their only resource ; they took it up as a kind of supplementary aid, to help the government on till they should have effected the constitution ; but this was greatly delayed by the different interests that prevailed in the legislative body.

There was a third party still more base and hypocritical than either the royalists or republicans, because it was endeavouring to make instruments of both, for purposes too disgraceful to be mentioned. To this faction, Mirabeau, and many of the professed republicans, belonged, whose principal object was, to effect the overthrow of the reigning family, and to place the Duke of Orleans upon the throne.—Each faction was desirous of rendering the constitution subservient to his particular views ; and such was the obstinacy with which every part was contended, that it was not till the 3rd of Sep.

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 Question for limiting the Authority of the King.
 

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tember 1791, that it was ready to be laid before the King.

Among the debates which created the most violent contention, was the question for limiting the authority of the Monarch. The republicans were for reducing him to a mere cypher, in order to afford an excuse for deposing him as a useless appendage of the government; while the Aristocrats, and the friends of rational liberty, wished to allow him a negative upon all proceedings of the legislature, in order to correct any violent measures that might pass. A vote of that nature being almost essential to the very stile of King, the Orleans faction were as zealous for it as the Royalists; and Mirabeau adopted a singular artifice, to conceal his plans from the mob of Paris, who considered him a staunch republican, who, after delivering the most eloquent orations in the Assembly in favour of the *Veto*, withdrew before the question was put, that his name might not appear among the printed votes.

Constant scenes of riot could not fail to become matter of the most serious alarm to the King, especially as the obstinacy of the mob triumphed over the efforts that were exerted to subdue them; it was, therefore, no impolitic resolution that he adopted, of sending to the Assembly to declare, that it was not his wish to have the absolute veto, and proposed a suspensive veto, which should postpone laws during a first and second legislature, but which should be withdrawn, if a third should vote for its passing.

This was generally approved, but it did not secure the King the least repose; for those cold-blooded calculating patriots had other schemes in view, which in-

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*Royal Assent withheld.*

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duced them to grant him the prerogative, merely to betray him into their power.

Two great objects of the revolution were not yet brought forward; and as they would not only create a violent opposition throughout France, but also excite the hostile interference of foreign powers, they could not be attempted till some pretence was found for retaining the royal family, as hostages to be offered up to popular vengeance in case of opposition.

The royal assent about this time was withheld from a decree that had been laid before the King for his veto, and during this eventful period, the friends of the court were unfortunate enough to afford the factious leaders an opportunity of exciting a great degree of agitation amongst their followers, by a feast that was given at Versailles to the officers of a regiment lately arrived, at which, under the exhilarating influence of the bottle, they shewed a strong dislike to the conduct of the Revolution. The King and Queen were prevailed upon to present the Dauphin to this party, and the visit was received with such raptures of enthusiastic loyalty, that it is extremely probable some improper words and actions might have been witnessed, which themselves would not have approved in the moments of sobriety. No such allowance could, however, be admitted by the virtuous members of the Assembly:—the national cockade, they said, had been trampled on, and Mirabeau declared, that if the Assembly would pronounce, that the “King’s person only was saved,” he would “accuse the Queen of encouraging these outrages.”

No reasoning could be heard among the clamours of the revolution: myriads of the Parisians, consisting of the most abandoned persons of both sexes, marshalled in bodies,



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Louis and his Family brought Prisoners to Paris.

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and proceeded, on the fourth day after the banquet, to the palace at Versailles, and in the most horrid procession that, perhaps, was ever witnessed in any age or country, brought the King and all his unhappy family prisoners to Paris. To describe this wicked and bloody attempt would be deviating from our purpose; but posterity may form some idea of it, on being informed that the Queen was attacked in her bed-chamber, which was only defended by a single centinel, who had scarcely time to call out, "Save the Queen, for I alone am here to defend her life against two thousand tygers!" when he was trampled under foot by the relentless cannibals. The streaming heads of two of the life-guards were carried on pikes before their Majesties' coach, in order to give them every degree of pain that barbarous cruelty could invent, and the wanton cry of "give us bread!" was chosen to assail the ears of that prince, whom they had been more than two years endeavouring to reduce to misery.

Among those who most regretted the turn which affairs had now taken, were La Fayette, Mounier, and Lally Tolendal; the two latter of whom urged their friends to the inutility of any further struggle, now that all the forms of justice were wholly overthrown, and the Assembly would be obliged to follow the King to Paris, where every man's life would be held at the mercy, not of those whom they looked on as their fellow-citizens, but of the sanguinary ruffians of that degraded city. The royal family looked upon themselves as splendid prisoners, as victims ready to be sacrificed whenever occasion should require it; the monarchy was therefore virtually destroyed; and, having crossed the Rubicon, it was not necessary to halt any longer.

The first step the ministers took, and which was like

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**Ecclesiastical Property declared the Property of the Nation.**

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throwing out a tub to a whale, was the abolition of a tax, which Louis the XVIth had been anxious to abolish. This tax was a duty of nearly sixpence on a single pound of salt, and was held by the people in such abhorrence, that no measure could have been more popular, except the remission of the tobacco duty, which was repealed at the same time.

The leading party in the Assembly surprised all Europe, and even great part of their own colleagues, by a proposal to seize upon all the lands and revenues of the church, in order to pay off the national debts, and relieve the people from the burthens that so heavily pressed upon them.

This business came forward at the end of October; but though the subject was of great importance to the clergy, as well as to all the principal families, by being related to that body, the opposition to the proposal was of little effect, and a decree passed on the 2d of November, by which all the ecclesiastical property in the kingdom was declared to be the property of the nation, and every minister of public worship was to receive his salary out of the public purse, like a clerk in an office! The suppression of monastic establishments followed this; but it is highly creditable to the Assembly, that, in seizing those revenues, provision was made, that as many of the resident nuns and friars as were disposed to continue, should have their stipends allowed them during their lives.

The seizing of the church lands had so much wisdom in it, that it was of itself sufficient to secure a revolution; it instantly became the trading stock of the government—a bank that might be considered inexhaustible; and to give the monied interest a colour for sanctioning the measure, a new kind of paper money was issued by the

Assembly upon its credit. These drafts were called assignats, and the property itself that was seized or forfeited to the state, was called national domains. The creditors of the state were paid in assignats or drafts upon the national domains, so that the great debts of the country guaranteed an immense army for the defence of the revolution ; for by this means the nation would find purchasers for her domains, and be able to pay her drafts ; but if the ancient order of things were to be restored, the public creditor would suffer as formerly.

Having ventured upon this the most hazardous of all their measures, the Assembly abolished the whole order of nobility, at a single sitting, by a laconic decree, that henceforth there should be no distinction of orders in France.

Both the nobles and clergy felt their losses more than they should ; for, in fact, the salaries of the clergy, as settled by the legislature, were not illiberal ; and, as to the nobles, they should have seen, that a very few years of peace would have made the demagogues themselves emulous of restoring distinctive badges, for the sake of maintaining their own rank.

Emigrations became so common, that not less than six thousand landed estates were advertised for public sale, for which no purchasers could be found ; and so much property had been conveyed to foreign countries, that the demand for some of the principal articles of manufacture was sensibly diminished, insomuch, that some of the trading cities were shortly ruined.

The conduct of the Assembly towards the King had been a mixture of insolence and respect ; they had evinced a resolution not to let him exercise his prerogative of the *Veto*, and yet affected to consider his assent as

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The King arrested going to St. Cloud.

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absolutely necessary ; so that, after a variety of arguments, he was forced to appear in the Assembly, and profess his determination to support the new order of things.

The Clergy were commanded to signify their assent to the spoliation of the Church, by an oath, although at variance with the whole system of their education and habits. Most of the conscientious Clergy refused to take this iniquitous oath, and many of these persons attached themselves to the King, as suffering with him under the same wanton persecution.

That the King was disposed to prove that he was really a prisoner, or that he designed nothing more than to ascertain the length of his chain, cannot now be determined ; but on the 18th of April, 1791, he took the resolution to ride with his family to St. Cloud, a palace at a short distance, in order to spend the Easter holidays. The journey was hardly begun when the Royal Travelers were arrested by the mob, and the soldiers joined in the outrage, upon the pretence, that they considered their country in danger.

Such an insult, of so glaring and unprovoked a nature, could not fail to rouse their indignation, and the King repaired to the Assembly on the following day, to complain. They heard the complaint with apparent respect, and tacitly censured the proceeding, by passing a decree to authorize a prosecution of the journey, but not a word was said about punishing the officious wretches who had usurped the power of the Magistracy.

This event was important, as it occurred at a period when the Emigrant Princes were about to attack the Revolutionists, with a view to restore the antient despotism, and led the King to think, that his own reputation

required him to disavow any participation in these hostile preparations; he therefore lost no time in notifying to all foreign courts, that he had assented to the new order of things, and "that he and the National Assembly were united together by the most sacred obligations."

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## CHAPTER VIII.

LOUIS knew that his brothers wished to restore the monarchy with its unlimited power, and he also well knew that the object of the patriotic factions was to seek a fair pretence for overthrowing the last of the Monarchy altogether; whichever of the parties might succeed was to him of less consequence than any other person; for there could be little doubt, but the commencement of the struggle would be a signal for offering him up as its victim. His distance from his brothers precluded him from desiring them to abandon an object, in which their birth-right was involved, and the increasing frenzy of the National Assembly prevented him from expecting any thing like a more moderate course from them. Surrounded by evils on every side, where is the man that would not have sought a place of safety? No people but the inconsiderate French would have been surprised that the Royal Family had escaped from Paris, much less have attributed it to the worst of motives.

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**The Royal Family leave Paris—Their Arrest at Varennes.**

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On the 21st of June, 1791, the commandant of the castle of the Tuilleries was met by one of the household, who informed him, that neither the King, Queen, Dauphin, nor the Princess Elizabeth, were to be found; the news was generally known about nine in the morning, and Paris was in the greatest confusion.

The National Assembly met early, and the President communicated the intelligence, upon which M. Montmorin, the Minister for Foreign affairs, was ordered under arrest, upon suspicion of his having assisted the escape of the family.

Reports were immediately circulated, that the King was gone to put himself at the head of an army to invade his people, and the frontiers were ordered to be put in a state of defence. Couriers were despatched to all the departments, with orders to arrest every one who should attempt to quit the kingdom, and to seize property of every kind that might be found crossing the frontiers. Very severe decrees were passed against every person who had assisted in rescuing the King, and an address was prepared, to assure the country at large, that the Assembly would maintain their posts with firmness and energy.

Two days were thus spent in fruitless conjecture, and no discovery made as to the circumstances of the departure, or the road the family had taken, when a messenger arrived at the bar of the Assembly, with tidings that the Royal Family had been arrested at Varennes, and were detained in custody there, till the orders of the representatives of the people should be known.

The Assembly thought it necessary to have the chief instrument of the detention of the Royal Fugitives brought before them, by a deputation of the Municipality of Paris. He began his recital by stating, that his name was Dronet,

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They are brought back to Paris—Louis's Explanation.

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that he had formerly been a dragoon in the regiment of Condé, but was actually post-master of St. Menchouff.

On the 21st of June, at half past seven in the evening, two carriages, and eleven horses, stopped to bait at his house. He fancied he recognized the Queen, and, observing a man at the back part of the carriage, his curiosity had led him to examine him closely, when the resemblance of the countenance, with the effigy of the King on an assignat of fifty livres, was so apparent, that he no longer doubted.

These carriages were escorted by a detachment of dragoons, which succeeded a detachment of hussars, under the idea of protecting treasure. The escort excited his particular suspicion, but being alone, and fearful of exciting a premature alarm, he suffered the carriages to depart, and then, by a cross road, arrived at the next stage before them, and had the national guard called out, to stop the carriages.

The Assembly appointed three Commissioners to escort the prisoners to Paris, and among the few creditable things that they did, in the course of their session, they took every proper precaution upon this occasion to prevent their Majesties being exposed to the brutal attacks of the multitude.

When measures were adopted for guarding the palace with greater strictness, a commission was appointed to examine the Royal Fugitives, as to the motives of their flight, upon which Louis declared, that he was very far from desiring to conceal them.

The King explained, that his reasons for undertaking the journey arose from the outrages to which he and his family had been constantly exposed, not only on the 18th of April, but subsequent to that period, which led him

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The King accepts the Constitution.

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to judge, that he could not with safety continue in Paris, where every branch of his house, but particularly the Queen, was daily insulted. He chose to quit it at midnight, to avoid interruption, but he had no intention of passing the frontiers. He intended to reside for a short time at Montmedy, because, being a fortified place, he could have been visited by his family without molestation.

The Queen's vindication was simple and natural; she declared, that as her husband had determined to remove himself and family, it was impossible that she could admit the thought of separating from him and her children: and both added, that their attendants were ignorant of their intention, till they received their orders to depart.

The King's return to the capital made no alteration in the proceedings of the Emigrant Princes, whose number was now strengthened by the addition of Monsieur, who, having quitted Paris at the same time as the King, had fortunately escaped, by taking another road; but, as it was reported that troops were raising in his Majesty's name, he thought proper, in a letter to the National Assembly, to disavow any participation in their project.

When the constitution was completed, it was presented to the King, for his acceptance; and though a simple AYE or NO would have been a sufficient answer upon the occasion, he not only accepted it as it stood, but entered into its merits, and pointed out deficiencies, being desirous of seeing those parts which he approved accompanied by others that should be worthy of them.

After stating a variety of reasons, that had induced him to desire a reform of abuses, which he had discovered soon after the commencement of his reign, he concluded his address with the following manly and paternal observation, for the consideration of the Assembly.



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His Speech to the Assembly on that occasion.

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"I accept then the Constitution; I engage to maintain it at home, to defend it against attacks from abroad, and to cause it to be executed by all the means which it puts into my power.

"While I shall faithfully employ all the means that are entrusted to me, no reproach can be laid on me; and the nation, whose interest alone ought to be the supreme rule, will explain itself by those means which the Constitution has reserved to it.

"But, gentlemen, for the security of liberty, for the individual happiness of all Frenchmen, there are interests, in which an imperious duty prescribes to us to combine all our efforts; these interests are, respect for the laws, the re-establishment of order, and the re-union of all the citizens. Now that the Constitution is definitively settled, Frenchmen living under the same laws, ought to know no enemies but those who infringe them. Discord and anarchy are our common enemies; I will oppose them with all my power; it is necessary that you and your successors second me with energy, that the law may equally protect all those who submit their conduct to it—that all those whom the fears of persecution and trouble have driven from their country, may be assured of finding, at their return, safety and tranquillity. I speak not of those who have been solely influenced by their attachment to me.—Can you regard them as criminals? As to those, who, by personal injuries, have brought upon themselves the prosecution of the laws, I shall prove in my conduct to them, that I am the King of all the French.

(Signed) Louis."

P. S.—"I was of opinion, Gentlemen, that I ought to pronounce my solemn acceptance of the Constitution

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*Joy of the Assembly—Embassy to the Emigrant Princes.*

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in the very place in which it was formed ; in consequence I shall come in person to-morrow, at noon, to the National Assembly."

This Address was received by the Assembly, as if they had recovered a proper sense of the decorum necessary to be observed towards the chief Magistrate of a great people. The reading was followed by the most lively and enthusiastic plaudits, and the shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" were as general and as loud as in the most splendid times of the Monarchy. The intoxication had scarcely ceased, when the Assembly decreed that all persons under arrest should be immediately released—that all prosecutions carried on against persons for acts committed in consequence of the Révolution, should be immediately superceded—that passports should be no longer necessary to enable French citizens to enter or go out of the kingdom, and that a deputation of sixty members should wait upon the King with the decree, and express the satisfaction which his acceptance of the Constitution had diffused.

At the same time the Assembly dispatched an embassy to the Emigrant Princes, inviting them to return to their country, where they should enjoy all the blessings of the Constitution, and assuring them, that they should be protected from every outrage by the Legislative Body. Their refusal served to re-kindle the resentment of the people, which afterwards burst forth more violently than ever.

A more eventful period never occurred in the annals of mankind than the moment of which we speak. It was not merely a privilege—a territory—a crown, or a succession, but the subversion of the rights, the thrones, and the most antient empires of Europe, that depended

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Fury of the Populace much abated.

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upon the rejection or acceptance of a single proposal. The labours of the Assembly had, in fact, closed, when the Constitution was completed, and they were to be succeeded by a body of men entirely new ; for they had decreed that not one of their own members should be re-chosen. The character of the new Assembly might be influenced by the conduct of the Princes, for if they evinced a spirit of moderation, moderate men might predominate in the elections ; but if discord were likely to continue, the turbulent and boisterous only would appear either as candidates or electors.

The elections concluded. The old, (or as it was called, the Constituent Assembly) dissolved itself upon the body of new legislators, taking possession of the hall on the 30th of September, 1791 : and, in giving up their records, communicated the pleasing intelligence to their successors, that they left a surplus of thirty-five millions in the national treasury, of which eighteen millions were in specie.

The King had gained much popularity, and the public fury had much abated ; for upon his entering the hall, at the dissolution of the Assembly, it was ordered that no chair should be seated by him, except that of the President, and they condescended to stand and remain uncovered, while his Majesty delivered his speech. The Assembly was not singular in these civilities, for their Majesties not only ventured abroad without meeting with insult, but were, on these occasions, greeted by various testimonies of returning loyalty.

The Assembly having finished the routine necessary to their formation, a deputation of sixty members was appointed to acquaint the King that they were about to proceed to business, and, being admitted to his Majesty,

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Laconic Speech to the King from the Assembly.

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M. Ducastel, their orator, said, "Sire, the National Assembly is definitively constituted, and has deputed us to inform your Majesty of it." Dry and laconic as this address was, the author of it did not fail to meet with a reprimand on his return to the Assembly, for using such servile expressions as "Sire," and "Majesty."

Two years correspondence had cemented an union amongst all the clubs in France, which rendered it easy for an opinion to be propagated, and an unity of action to be effected throughout that vast empire in a few days; and the zealous Republicans availed themselves of this opportunity to inform the whole country, that it was about to be plunged into a most destructive and bloody war, of which the Royal Family, if not the sole cause, was alone the object.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE conduct of the King and Queen was of the virtuous and honorable kind, and every real friend of liberty must have approved it, but it was the misfortune of France to have fallen under the government of a set of canting hypocrites, who were any thing, and every thing but what they professed to be, and who knew no more of patriotism than the proper opportunities upon which they might venture the usurpation of its name.

The signal for plunging the country into a series of

troubles was, a decree of outlawry against the King's Brothers and the Emigrants. His Majesty had not abandoned the hope of inducing the Princes to listen to reason, and he refused his veto to the decree, with a design to issue a proclamation, which he hoped would answer the purpose in a less offensive manner.

Mobs now paraded to the Assembly, and interrupted the business, upon pretence of offering addresses and giving advice, and these wretches were invited to the honours of the sitting by legions at a time!

No limits were known, at which the extravagant notions and practices of the people ought to stop; Anacharsis Cloots, a Prussian refugee, in a fit of madness, took it into his head to attire in theatrical dresses a motley group, consisting of vagabonds, whom he hired for the purpose, and of patriots, whose brains were boiling with republican fury, and had the boldness to introduce them to the Assembly, as ambassadors from the oppressed people of different nations, who had appointed him their orator, and demanded the interference of the nation to aid them in throwing off the yoke of their tyrants. "Let us march," said this enthusiast, "at the head of two millions of men; we will plant the tree of liberty every where, and deliver twenty nations from the fangs of despotism." The Assembly thought it an honour to have received the homage of these rhodomontade opinions, and accordingly invited their grotesque visitors to the honours of the sitting.

The want of combination amongst the Combined Powers afforded an opportunity of preparing for the war, and the Jacobins exerted themselves, to stimulate their partisans to enter into the army, in which they were so successful, that full two millions of fighting men were

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War declared against Germany.

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ready to march, whenever their leaders were disposed to conduct them to the field of battle; and as troops continued to menace the frontiers notwithstanding the pacific declarations of some neighbouring courts, in answer to the remonstrances, the Assembly urged his Majesty to make vigorous preparations for war, and large armies were accordingly collected.

Supposing that no danger was to be apprehended from a sudden attack, the Assembly would forget how much the effects of a well drawn manifesto might be frustrated, if they should commence the attack before they had involved the dispute in so much doubt, as to make it a matter of contest who were the original aggressors. Preliminary negotiations were therefore opened, and the necessary charges on both sides exchanged, when the Assembly declared war against the Emperor, as King of Bohemia and Hungary, on the 20th of April 1792.

After what we have seen pervading all ranks, and particularly the troops, it is surprising how any officer could be willing to trust himself in the field at the head of such a rabble; perhaps some acted from the necessity of either obeying orders, or of being punished as deserters; others, relying upon their own patriotism and the purity of their intentions, might bid defiance to the malice of calumny, and others might assume commands with a view to co-operate with the invading armies in restoring the internal peace of their country.

Whatever motives may have influenced General Dillon, the first officer who marched to attack the enemy, will perhaps never be known; for, having marched out of Lisle on the 28th of April, at the head of 3000 men, with a design to attack Tournay, he was opposed by the Austrian General Happencourt and a body of nine

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Murder of General Dillon.

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hundred Austrians, who no sooner appeared, than an universal cry of "Treason!" impelled them to a shameful retreat, in which they abandoned all their artillery and baggage. The General, who used every exertion to rally his followers, had scarcely re-entered Lisle, when the cowards instantly pierced his body with a thousand bayonets; and, to increase their guilt, they not only hung a priest and an officer of artillery, without provocation, but they hung the whole of the Austrian prisoners, whom they had captured, and with the same lawless barbarity.

Powerful armies were quartered on the different frontiers, the generals and officers of which were all looked on as Aristocrats, and daily risking to be butchered in the same mutinous manner, while the King and his Ministers, surrounded by persons of the same description at home, were publicly insulted by them as traitors, who, by fair appearances, were betraying the country to the enemy. A member of the Assembly, M. Brissot, had the audacity to give authority to the accusation, by accusing the King in a journal, which he himself published, and his example encouraged one of his followers, Condorcet, to write a threatening letter to the King, grounded upon his own ignorant suspicions.

The jealousies and suspicions, incident to a state of violent commotion, operated more fatally upon those who indulged them, than all the evils of which they were so apprehensive could possibly have done, if they had happened to have had the manliness to meet them boldly.

After the war had commenced, the post of government was so much so the post of danger, that they only considered themselves safe who found some pretence of retiring; and such was the licentiousness that prevailed,

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**The King deprived of his Body Guards.**

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that those who retired and those who succeeded, were alike subject to unqualified abuse, as if serving the public constituted a traitor.

The Assembly hastened to pass such rash and hasty decrees as they knew the King could not sanction, with a view to irritate the mob against him for the exercise of his veto; and their refined policy led them to decree, that the King should dismiss a corps of Swiss guards, which did duty at the palace. As was foreseen, the King refused his assent, and he was immediately accused, of keeping a guard to fight against the liberties of the people; and those beings, in the shape of men, acted exactly as if the family of the Sovereign was the only one in the kingdom that should remain unprotected.

The Constituent Assembly deprived the King of his body-guards; and, after the numerous sacrifices he had made to moderate his persecutors, some of his friends advised him to part with these troops, as a few companies of them were to do duty with the National Guard, which was to receive charge of the Palace. It is likely, that an adherence to his first resolution would not have been of the least advantage to his Majesty's family; but his compliance with the clamour of the people did not procure it an hour's repose, for reports were circulated so rapidly, that the most cautious were forced into the streets, to swell the riotous assemblies, by this mere alarm, and the Palace was incessantly surrounded by persons, waiting to seize some of the household, whom they delighted in ducking in the adjoining water. The Queen happening one day to be at a window, to take the fresh air, she was very much affected at seeing a priest and an old officer dragged along by the unfeeling rabble, merely because they were suspected of being Aristocrats;



and her feelings being looked on as a libel upon the freedom of the people, a cannonier of the national guard, after having addressed her in the vilest language, added, "that he hoped one day to have the pleasure of carrying her head upon his pike."

War was now declared against France by the Emperor, the King of Prussia, and many of the small states of Germany, and some skirmishes had occurred, in which the French had been generally unsuccessful, so that popular fury was fed every day.

A means of security which Louis adopted, with a firmness, that for the moment staggered his enemies, was dismissing the Republican Ministry, of which Brissot was the head, to clear the way for the friends of limited monarchy, headed by La Fayette.

Though this change seemed to weaken the Republicans, it served to arouse their energies, and occasion fresh plots against the Court; and the enmity between the friends of liberty and the Republicans became every day more open.

The idea of being sent back to their former obscurity operated so powerfully upon the Republican factions, that they were determined to destroy the remains of liberty, and to establish a reign of terror instead of the Constitution, to the purpose that whenever they might find it convenient to prevent any virtuous opposition, they might shed the blood of the person, without his being able to shelter himself under the law. They divided themselves into different parties, amongst the ignorant and desperate class who frequented the clubs and riotous assemblies, and by artful insinuations, persuaded the foolish people that they should always enjoy an idle life; for that, when the Monarchy should be overthrown, the

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Parties against the King--M. Petion.

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property of the rich should be divided amongst them, or, as Brissot said, "the reign of liberty should be beneficial to its friends."

By such infamous devices, multitudes of wretches collected about the Assembly, to demand the deposition of the King, under pretence of petitioning the members. At the head of one of those gangs appeared a fellow, named Santerré, who styled himself commander of the citizens of St. Antoine, a suburb of Paris chiefly inhabited by vagrants, blackguards, and thieves; and he was suffered to pass through the hall, followed by an armed rabble, bearing every device that could indicate their nefarious designs. One carried a scroll, which professed to be, "Advice to Louis XVI.;" and another, that the "People were tired of suffering." But, that they might not be misunderstood, another bore the conclusive admonition, "Tremble, tyrant! thy hour is come."

M. Petion, the Mayor of Paris, who had been chosen by the interest of the Brissotines, always took care to be away when any of those scenes were to happen; and if moderate men complained of their being allowed, he affected to discredit them, and treated the complaints as attempts to calumniate the people, and indicative of a conspiracy against liberty; in consequence he became very popular with the rabble, and could lead them as he pleased. He was a principal in the Brissotine party, and his conduct is a strong proof of the criminal designs of those men; for if they possessed the smallest regard to liberty or justice, they would have effected their purpose by law, instead of the sanguinary violence of a mob, and the matter of their having rejected the law, is a proof

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Santerre heads a Rabble.

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that the King had not violated it, and that they had no ground for deposing him but their own determination to seize the government.

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## CHAPTER X.

THE terrible 20th of June at length arrived, and some of the Municipality, who were not yet corrupted, informed the Assembly, that the populace were collecting with the design of proceeding to some violent breach of the public peace, and that nothing short of some strong interference of the legislature could avert the danger. The friends of moderation moved for a decree to forbid the assembling of armed bodies of people, and to prevent them from surrounding either the Palace or the Assembly; but this was scouted, as trenching upon the Majesty of the people; and Santerre, accompanied by Legendre, a butcher, led their gangs through the city, and, under pretence of going to petition the King, collected all the elements of crime and confusion in one mass, with an intention to bury the unfortunate Monarch and his family in irrevocable ruin.

As some severe examples had taken place among the soldiery, in consequence of what had happened at Lisle; and, as the army in general shrunk from the excesses of the Republicans, hopes were kept up that a guard might be depended upon for the protection of the palace.

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*Alarming situation of the King.*

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When the mob began the attack, it was long before they gained admittance ; but they had four pieces of cannon, and as the soldiers were strictly ordered not to fire upon the people, resistance became as mischievous as in every case in which the ill-fated Louis had been advised to attempt it. The assailants were provided with hatchets, crow's, &c. and they broke down the gates and doors of the Thuilleries, and pointed their artillery against the hall allotted to the guards, when the King presented himself, attended by the Princess Elizabeth, his sister, who refused to quit him. A few of the National Guards surrounded his Majesty, determined to defend him, or perish in the attempt.

The room was crowded with a multitude of men, women, and children, venting the usual ories of sedition: They insisted that he should withdraw his veto from the decrees against his Brothers and the Clergy, and Legendre, in an insolent and brutal address, demanded the King's attention: "Hear us, Sir!" said he, "for it is your duty so to do.—You are perfidious.—You have always deceived us ; you deceive us still ; but, beware, for the people are tired of seeing themselves made your laughing-stock !" To which his Majesty calmly replied, that he regulated his conduct by the Constitution.

The resolution of the King, and his few faithful guards, disarmed the multitude of their ferocity, and the greater part satisfied themselves with pouring out execrations and abuse upon the Princess Elizabeth, whom they took for the Queen. Others insisted upon the King putting on a red cap, which was one of the emblems of liberty assumed by these madmen. The King not only put it on with much apparent good humour, but the Queen

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The Mayor arrives, but too late.

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having since joined him with a resolution to die by his side, he put one also on the Dauphin, whom her Majesty presented to the rabble. The effect was such as might have been expected from such an assemblage. The King and Queen discovered no signs of tyranny, and as the leaders could not misconstrue what the people could judge of by the evidence of their senses, the volatile crew were willing to admit that the Monarch and his family were very civil people; "*C'est bien hannete,*" was echoed by the crowd, and, after ranging through the apartments, the curiosity of most was satisfied. A few attempted to push through the guards, but did not succeed; and it should not be forgotten, that though this multitude amounted to perhaps forty thousand, no instance of robbery occurred; and, except breaking a few mirrors and glasses, very little damage.

When the tumult was almost over, Petion, and a deputation from the Legislative Body, arrived at the Palace, just to save appearances; but the King felt no obligation to them, for the Mayor had been twice sent for, before he thought it necessary to take the trouble of attending.

It appears that his Majesty evinced no symptom of fear. A grenadier asked him the question. "No," he answered, "put your hand upon my heart, and feel if it betrays any signs of fear."

The King appeared satisfied that he should, at some future period, fall a victim to the fury of the populace, about which, however, he seemed indifferent; but the fate of his family caused him great uneasiness: even his enemies admit, that he was both an affectionate husband and a tender father. When he was advised to the adoption of more vigorous measures, he replied as follows:

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General la Fayette appears before the Assembly.

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*" Oh ! if my wife and children were not with me, it would soon appear that I am not so weak as is imagined, but what would become of them, if the measures to which you allude, should fail ? "* His chief consolation, under his sorrows, was, that if his blood were shed, it would probably appease the rebels, and redeem his family from destruction.

General la Fayette appeared in Paris. A letter of the 16th had been accompanied by one to his Majesty, in which he pledged himself to him, 'to defend him against the violence of the factions ; and, upon learning what insults had been offered to the Sovereign on the 20th, he proved his noble soul to be stimulated by that high honour which becomes a freeman and a soldier, and flew to support, in person, the justice which he had asserted.

M. la Fayette was received by the King with open arms, and the National Guards conducted him in triumph to and from the Assembly ; but it was clear, that the citizens of Paris were not disposed to second his spirited endeavours. In the Assembly he was listened to with cold respect, while he declared that he had agreed on such measures with Marshal Luckner, that his absence from the army could not be of the least injury, and he presented himself before them in his own name, and that of his indignant troops, to demand justice against the guilty authors of the disgraceful scenes at the Palace on the 20th. Resolution was apparent in every word he spoke, and the Jacobins knew they were not yet able to provoke him openly ; they suffered him to withdraw, drily replying, by their President, that they had " sworn to maintain the laws, and knew how to defend them." Some very severe remarks were made on his conduct, and a republican member (Gaudet) moved that inquiry

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The King confirms the Mayor's dismissal.

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should be made of the Minister of War, whether he had allowed M. la Fayette to quit the army. This motion was rejected, and the General's address was then referred to a committee, and many persons were desirous of marking it with their decided approbation; addresses to that purpose were received from various parts of the country, and one of them had even twenty thousand signatures.

At this trying period, the friends of the King and the Constitution seem to have acted with as little firmness as before, yet they were not inactive. A superior council had been formed for some time, in Paris, styled the Directory of the Police; the majority were moderate men, and had called upon the Mayor, as well as upon the Assembly, to prevent the disorders of the 20th, without effect; they therefore exerted their own authority, and suspended him as soon as order was in some measure restored.

The King did not assist the efforts of his friends with that determined steadiness which the boldness of his enemies demanded. He had most sharply reproached Pétion, and he should not have affected any complaisance; but he began a sort of coquetry with the Assembly, by referring the matter to them. They declared that they had no wish to do the King's duty, and would only interfere in case of an appeal. The King confirmed this dismissal, and the Assembly immediately restored the Mayor.

On the arrival of General la Fayette on the frontiers, he found the measures of the enemy in great forwardness, and a sense of the danger which threatened the country afflicted all its friends. Under this impression a member arose in the Assembly, on the 7th of July, and

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*The King goes to the Hall.*

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conjured them to sacrifice their own private views, and to become friends for the sake of their country. "Let all," said he, "who discover faults in the Constitution, display a spirit of accommodation to each other, and let us swear that we will unite to maintain it as it is." Scarcely were the last words uttered, when the two sides (Republicans and Constitutionalists) arose, threw their hats up, shouted applauses from every side, the two parties embraced, and swore immortal union, taking their seats indifferently, as a sign of endless harmony!

The minutes of this event were ordered to be immediately transmitted to the King, and directions were given to communicate this glorious issue to all the citizens. Such, indeed, was the wonderful combination of events which crowded on at this period, that M. Carnot, who has since been looked on as the completest Republican, stood up in defence of the King's authority, and moved, that the judicial powers should be especially charged to redouble their vigilance and authority.

On the return of the deputation, who had waited on the King, the Bishop of Lyons reported, that his Majesty, after hearing the extracts of the minutes read, answered, "That it was impossible for him to hear news so dear to his heart, and that he yielded to his strong desire of coming to the Assembly, to testify all the joy with which this had inspired him."

The King soon after entered the hall, amidst continued shouts of "Long live the King!—Long live Liberty!"—and in the fulness of his heart, declared his anxious hope that the end of this union would make France survive the dangers which threatened her. The Assembly replied by an address, in which it said that it "*already saw in the candour of his proceedings the*



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The Assembly decrees the Country in danger.

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*omens of success.*" The plaudits of the galleries were equally loud with those of the Members; and yet it would scarcely be credited, that only one Sabbath had passed, when these very people assailed this very King with the heaviest accusations that violence and bitterness could invent. A new scene of riot was at hand, under the mask of a national fete, or grand confederation, to celebrate the 14th of July. Deputies from the different departments were to perform in the drama; care was to be taken that such of these visitors, as might not happen to be sufficiently corrupted, should not return home without being possessed of all the firebrands of strife that might yet be wanting to inflame the sober hamlets of the country, to make them as licentious as the metropolis. Brissot and his party threw off the mask which they had assumed for a few days, and after a torrent of declamation, in which he declared, *that the danger lay in the Palace*, the Assembly decreed concisely, "THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER," and two Addresses, filled with alarm, were drawn up, and sent to the armies and the departments.

Dissipation and idleness were so long prevalent, that the number of debtors and poor was considerably increased, and many thousands, not originally corrupt, became so in the unfeeling hope of being able to ruin their landlords, and creditors, by overthrowing royalty. The wounding the King's feelings was resorted to in every shape, and as the late triumph of the Mayor afforded a great opportunity, the mob used every means to insult the King and his friends with shouts of "Long live Petion!—Down with royalty, &c."

Whilst the last remains of Royalty were brought into contempt, they were also successful in assuring the peo-

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**The Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto.**

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ple that the Court prevented the success of the French arms, by its intrigues with those combined against France. In this they were in some degree sanctioned by the Combined Powers themselves, who, instead of marching as they should have done, with a strong column into the heart of the country, while it was yet undefended, continued issuing their feeble threats upon the frontiers. "It is not in the success of their arms," said the Jacobins, "that the enemy places his hopes; it is in the intrigues of the Thuilleries. It is the army of couriers that pass between Coblenz (the head-quarters of the emigrant Princes) and the Court, whom alone we have to fear, and not the soldiers of Brunswick."

A Manifesto was circulated through France, signed by the Duke of Brunswick as Generalissimo.—This Manifesto declared the intention of the Emperor and King of Prussia to restore order to France—to restore the King to his power, and release the Royal Family—to protect all persons who submitted to the King—that all persons found in arms should be punished severely—all the members of the assembly and others responsible with their lives—it threatened the most exemplary punishment on every one who controlled the King, or, as it is said, held him in subjection—it promised that the troops of the Duke of Brunswick should observe the strictest discipline, and treat all well-disposed subjects with mildness—and called on the people to suffer them to enter the kingdom, and give them every assistance.

In an additional declaration, he resolved to punish the people of Paris if the King should be insulted, and states, in case of the Royal Family being carried off, all places which did not oppose their passage, should be sub-

ject to the severest penalties, and that no place of retreat was to be the choice of his most Christian Majesty, unless it was effected under the offered escort.

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## CHAPTER XI.

NOTHING, during the whole course of the Revolution, did so much mischief as publishing this wretched Manifesto; for it made no difference whatever between the sober well-meaning friends of limited monarchy and the all-destroying Jacobins, who threatened even life itself with unlimited destruction. "Who then, do these combined armies come to favour," said every considerate Frenchman, "but the friends of a worn-out despotism, which I can only recollect with abhorrence?" The conclusion was perfectly natural. "This enemy must be repelled, and then the friends of liberty may be able to establish a free constitution."

On the 3rd of August, two days after this Manifesto had been read in the Assembly, the King wrote to that body, and, rather injudiciously, suggested the possibility of its not being genuine, disavowing all its sentiments, and promising every thing that they could expect of him. His declarations were now at an end, his promises useless. A motion was made to print his Letter and send it to the eighty-three departments, but the

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Petion's Petition creates violent agitation in the Assembly.

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previous question was instantly passed, amidst the shouts of the galleries.

Thuriot said, that the King had written this Letter because he knew that the Municipality of Paris were going to demand his deposition. Petion appeared at the head of a gang, and pretended he came from the forty-eight sections of Paris, to demand the King's exclusion from the throne, and that responsible ministers should be appointed until the election of a new king in a national convention.

He supported this petition by a sketch of what he called the King's conduct since the Revolution, which, he said, proved him to be an enemy to the people, to the laws, and to France. The petition created a most violent agitation in the Assembly, so that the president was obliged to adjourn the sitting; and, in the evening, the Assembly resolved to determine the question on that day se'nnight.

All business, save treason, ceased in Paris, from the 3rd of August; and the leaders of the National Assembly were busy in passing decrees that should favor the insurgents: patrols of the rabble were also placed, by Petion and Santerre, so as to prevent the possibility of the King's escape. Matters being arranged for carrying the decree into execution, on the day before the Assembly had resolved to pass it, the palace was attacked on the 10th of August. As many of the leading members of the Assembly were desirous of aiding in the assault, who at the same time wished to be concealed, it was resolved that the riot should not commence till after dark: it was not till eleven o'clock that Danton called, "To arms! to arms!" and all the bells were rung, to proclaim the city in a state of insurrection.

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**The Palace attacked by the Mob.**

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The city of Paris had little to do in the affair: the chiefs of the parties counted upon thirteen or fourteen thousand of their own ruffians in the metropolis, and they had about five thousand more from the departments; many were soldiers who had been drummed out of their regiments for their crimes, and many galley-slaves: of these classes were the famous Marseillois, and Federates of the West, as they were called, who had been brought to Paris to assist at the fête on the 14th of July; and, by mixing themselves in every part of the city, and keeping up a constant noise, they collected a great number of idlers round them, which, to a spectator, made them appear more numerous than they were.

The conquest of the palace was not affected so easily as it had been on the 20th of June; for though the attack commenced at one in the morning, it was nine before the outer gates were forced. Some preparations had been made for resistance, but, like every effort of the unfortunate Louis, it was more an attempt at resolution than resolution itself. Beside a part of the Swiss guard and a few of the national grenadiers, who were resolved to defend the constitution, there was a considerable body of Royalists, who had resolved to subdue the traitors or perish in the attempt, the whole amounting to near three thousand armed men. A body of this kind, headed by a bold and intrepid chief, would have amply secured a victory, if they had attacked the insurgents, instead of remaining cooped up in the palace.

When the outer gates were forced, the assailants were met by the King's guards, who, by a close fire, drove them back, and obliged them to leave four pieces of cannon behind them. The Swiss formed in the great court, whilst the cannon played upon the palace, and had al-

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*The Royal Family go to the Assembly.*

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ready pierced the roof; the bodies of the slain were strowed on every side, and the folly of resistance became evident every moment; for, in the multitude of advisers, no one had the command. The defenders of the palace soon became a tumultuous crowd, with no advantage over their adversaries, and much inferior to them in number. They failed, and they fell, for want of a commander; they were overpowered by numbers, and the triumphant barbarians enjoyed the sport of cutting them to pieces and dragging their mangled carcasses in their horrible processions. All the Swiss found were inhumanly put to death in cold blood, and their remains exhibited fixed at the end of pikes! About three thousand persons, on both sides, lost their lives in this attack; and more would have suffered, but that a part of the guards had escorted the Royal Family to the Assembly.

Louis seems to have had such an aversion to the shedding of blood, that he exposed himself to the most unwarrantable treatment, simply because the offenders calculated upon his forbearance. The danger was greater and more pressing than ever; this every one of his friends and family knew; and it is surprising, that, after the length that the Assembly had gone, he did not clearly see, that he must either be driven from his throne or fight in defence of it. Yet he does not appear to have had such a view of the subject; for, when he was followed by the Queen and the Princess his sister, in the midst of their brave defenders; after he had heard the dreadful howlings of a thousand tongues bellow out the cries of "deposition!" and "death!" after the nobles and guards had satisfied him of victory, and the Queen had resolved to die by his side; he took the unaccountable resolution, of throwing himself and family into the arms of the Na-

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The Royal Family confined in the Temple.

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tional Assembly, lest he should be supposed to violate the constitution ; and, previous to his leaving the palace, gave positive orders not to fire upon the people !

A series of singular events had placed him now in a most distressing situation. The members of the Assembly, to which he had retreated, thought no business of so much consequence as passing the decree of Deposition ; but they could not proceed to business in the King's presence, because it was contrary to the constitution ; this gave a pretence for forcing the Royal Family into a corner, where the secretaries kept their books, which deprived them even of the poor consolation of exchanging thoughts, and subjected them to the cruel state of a prison, while it was alleged that their persons were sacred.

Fourteen hours of mortification and pain being thus inflicted upon their helpless captives, the low pride of these narrow-minded republicans became satiated with thus exercising their tyranny, and they decreed that the executive power should be taken from the King, and that he and his family should be confined in the Temple. To increase the pain of the family, orders were issued that Pétion should go in the same carriage, to take them to prison ; this traitor not only insulted them by his advice on their journey, but occasionally stopped the carriage, that they might hear the speeches of the infamous orators who irritated the people against them by their foul calumnies.

The Revolution took a turn which seemed to dispel the hopes of all good men. The Assembly was about to dissolve ; for a National Convention was appointed to assemble on the 20th of September, to constitute a Republic, and little hope remained that this Assembly would not long have the power of doing mischief.

## CHAPTER XII.

AT the time the Notables met, in the year 1787, the discontents in Paris were extreme, and they increased rapidly until the year 1789, when the taking of the Bastille began the Revolution.

No individual in France had remained careless of its affairs, and many, who were not natives or inhabitants, partook, either by education or the possession of property in that nation, or by acquaintance or relationship with its inhabitants, or from other causes, a lively interest in the disagreements between the government and the people: a great number, who were desirous of calmly observing, or hastening or delaying the important consequences that were expected, hurried to the spot, as they were urged either by curiosity or interest.

Some of those, who had eagerly crowded to the French capital, expected to derive great advantages from a rupture with the Court; among them was Napoleon Bonaparte: he had quitted the regiment of artillery shortly after the death of his patron, Count Marboeuf, and retired home to Corsica; he found his mother a widow, in very indifferent circumstances, and several children depending on her exertions for support: Napoleon might not have added to her incumbrances, though it is not very likely that he afforded her relief. The education of a soldier and the manners of the army are not calculated to be of



service to him in any employment of any kind that the trifling island of Corsica could offer.

During the time Bonaparte remained with his mother he applied much to study ; but though he returned to his books with fresh ardour, it was principally because the experience he had had as an officer, had confirmed his fondness for his profession ; he did not labour with that strict attention that he had done early in life at Brienne. Notwithstanding the exercise and amusements, in which he afterwards took such active part, his constitution suffered much from long inaction during the time he was at school : his form was calculated to resist fatigue, and possessed much strength, but he bore the appearance of delicate health ; his despondency of promotion in the King's army heightened the melancholy of his appearance, but his character imparted a sternness to his countenance that was not so agreeable as remarkable in a very young man.

From the principles which he had early avowed, it was reasonable to believe that he would declare against the King. Steady in his passion for military glory, he did not slip so favourable an opportunity as the discontent of Paris afforded, of signalizing himself in favour of some one party. A mind such as his forces itself into notice from difficult situations. He seized, with enthusiasm, the sense of that decree which acknowledged no distinction of rank, although some might have then conjectured that it was likely to injure his future prospects.

It cannot be believed that, possessing these sentiments, Bonaparte could consider Louis XVI. as the father of his people ; and the more so when he knew that unhappy prince's throne was encircled by flatterers, who were all interested in supporting the greatest abuses—that royal

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Commissioners from the Assembly arrested by order of La Fayette.

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favour was the only road which led to military preferment, and that corrupt ministers and an effeminate court opposed an insuperable barrier to genuine merit when it dared to approach the throne; he expected, in common with every other subaltern officer who possessed no influence at court, or who had no means to purchase it, very little distinction. Faithful service was often repaid by a cross of St. Louis; an empty honour, which equally decked a faithful defender of the state, or the parasite of a needy courtier.

Bonaparte continued at Paris until the year 1790, when the disputes of the Corsicans occasioned some troops to be organized in that island, and he was appointed to the command of a battalion of national guards at Ajaccio, his native town; little service, however, was required of these levies, and Bonaparte had sufficient leisure to pursue his military studies. The war which took place between France and the combined powers opened a large field for observation; the manœuvres of the opposing armies, so admirably detailed at that period, gave him an opportunity, which he ardently seized, of examining, correcting, and maturing that system of warfare that has, by its activity and resources, assisted in conquering some of the finest provinces of Europe.

The Assembly failed in arresting La Fayette: that general imprisoned their commissioners on their arrival at Sedan; and, on the night of the 18th of August, he resolved to leave the army he commanded, which had already manifested their discontent at his conduct. Before morning he was on his horse, and, with seventeen companions, quitted the French territories\*.

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\* They had not, however, travelled many miles before they were arrested by an Austrian patrolle, and conducted to Lux-

This great man was forsaken by those very people for whose happiness he had exerted all his abilities : his life  
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 embourg ; they were afterwards separately imprisoned at Wesel. La Fayette here fell sick with fatigue and mortification, and his life was despaired of. The King of Prussia intimated to him, that his situation should be ameliorated if he would draw up plans against France. La Fayette spurned the proposal with scorn : himself and his companions were conveyed, in a waggon, to Magdebourg, where they remained during a whole year, in a dark and humid vault, strongly barricadoed. He was afterwards removed to Neiss, with some others, to be delivered up to Austria, and was, soon after, immured in the dungeons of Olmutz. By the contrivance of two American gentlemen La Fayette escaped, but was soon retaken.

His captivity now became more rigorous, and his malady increased with great violence. Neither himself, nor any of his fellow-prisoners, had received any information during their confinement respecting their families ; Madame La Fayette was imprisoned at Paris, and hourly expected to be led to the guillotine. Robespierre fell, her life was preserved, and, some time afterwards, she was released. At the end of 1795 she had sufficiently recruited her strength to attempt the execution of a project she had long meditated. She went to Vienna, with her two daughters, and obtained an audience of the Emperor, who would only allow her to share the horrors of her husband's prison. She entered the fortress of Olmutz with her two lovely daughters, where they were treated with the greatest inhumanity. Her health soon became so much injured, that she requested permission to visit Vienna for a week, to breathe the fresh air, and consult a physician ; in two months she was informed that this permission was allowed her, on condition that her daughters were confined in an apartment by themselves, and that she herself should never enter the prison again. She instantly wrote a positive refusal of this indulgence, which, in reference to her husband's imprisonment, concludes

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Dumourier appointed Commander-in-chief.

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was preserved from their fury by his retreat; and, when he claimed the pity of the world, he fell under the vengeance of a combination of sovereigns.

When the Assembly were acquainted with La Fayette's escape, they nominated Dumourier commander-in-chief. He had been minister at war, and at that time appeared very well disposed towards the King; but, after La Fayette escaped, he affected counter-revolutionary sentiments, and by those means obtained the confidence of the Republicans; Marshal Luckner also attached himself to the rising party, as well as Biron, Montesquieu, Kellerman, and Custine. Commissioners were to ascertain the opinions of the generals, and their report was successful. The appointment of civil officers, to be with the armies and in the garrisons, and to assist at the councils of war, was a measure which served the Assembly most egregiously, when it required accurate information respecting the troops, their operations, and the officers who commanded in chief.

The great talents of La Fayette had checked the whole  
thus: "Whatever, then, may be the state of my own health, and the inconvenience attending the stay of my daughters in this place, we will most gratefully take advantage of the goodness his Imperial Majesty has expressed towards us, by the permission to share in all the miseries of his captivity." The unhappy sufferers complained no more, although they continued to inhale an air so infected by a common sewer under the window of their dungeon, that the soldiers, on opening the door, were accustomed to apply their hands to their noses. They were not liberated until Bonaparte interfered in their behalf in 1797. In September they quitted their dungeons: La Fayette, with his family, retired to Ham-  
burgh, and in the beginning of 1800, Bonaparte permitted them to return to France.

Austrian and Prussian armies, although he had not more than twenty thousand men under his command. He being no longer opposed to the enemy, the combined armies resolved to advance as far as possible into France. They bombarded Longwy with such violence for fifteen hours as threatened to bury it in ruins, and the town capitulated. The Assembly ordered a court-martial to sit on the magistrates who surrendered it, and they were executed.

Verdun was next invested ; it was in want of every thing ; the enemy had a secret correspondence with the inhabitants ;—the town was considered untenable, and the municipal officers advised its surrender. Although the garrison was only two battalions, Beaurepaire, the commander, determined to hold out as long as possible ; but finding all his efforts useless, and his colleagues wanting to capitulate, he drew a pistol from his belt, in the midst of a council of war, and discharged it against his temple.

The consternation at Paris, when it was known that Longwy and Verdun had surrendered, was immense. All were alarmed, lest the report should be true, that the Duke of Brunswick would be in the neighbourhood of Paris. Danton, however, the Minister of Justice, whilst despair was seated on every countenance, declared there were at least 80,000 stand of arms in Paris. He proposed that they should be delivered up, and a body of volunteers raised and equipped with them. This was decreed, and that all who were not incapable should be ready to march. These steps exhilarated the falling spirits of the Parisians, and they crowded to put them into action.

It was supposed the volunteers would be enrolled in

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**Fury of the Populace—Massacre of Priests and Swiss Officers.**

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the districts to which they belonged, but something else was in view. Alarm guns were fired at two o'clock in the morning of the 2nd of September; the tocsin was sounded; the country declared to be in danger, and the people invited to meet in the Champ de Mars, from whence as was said, they were instantly to march against the common enemy. Myriads were collected; and when the resolutions of the Assembly moved by Danton, came to be understood, the universal cry was, "To arms, citizens! to arms! the enemy is at hand. Every garrison has fallen! every garrison has betrayed us! We are in the hands of traitors!" During this sort of frenzy, news was spread that 4000 French troops sent to reinforce Verdun, had treacherously been led into ambuscade, and cruelly cut to pieces. The fury of the populace was raised to its utmost height.—"We have no one to trust to, and we must face the enemy!" they exclaimed—"We are to be slaughtered like sheep, and shall we not turn upon our haters!—To the Abbaye! and the two Carmes! Let every traitor suffer!" Such were the proposals in the hall of the Jacobins, and such the exclamations of the furies that crowded the streets! The Cardinal de Rochefoucault, and about 130 (some say 220) priests were handed out of the prison, two by two, into the street Vaugerard, and there put to death in cold blood; for the strong pleas of innocence and age were of no avail. They wreaked their vengeance on the unfortunate Swiss officers who were confined in the Abbaye prison. These acts of guilt were attended with the solemn mockery of a jury of nine Italians and three Frenchmen; but their fate was determined previous. It was said before their execution, *Il faut le largir*, "He must be set at liberty;" but alas! it was only to be led through ranks of

ruffians, to be methodically cut to pieces, or run through the body with countless pikes. The Swiss officers were all murdered, their commander-in-chief alone, M. d'Affry, had the good fortune to escape, owing to a mistake of the mob.

The ladies of the Court, who had been imprisoned on the day on which the palace was attacked, were murdered in "*La Force*." The princess de Lamballe was one, a woman of the most exquisite accomplishments both of body and mind. When summoned to appear before the tribunal, she was enjoying that repose which her melancholy situation too often denied her. She became a victim to the cruel rage of the populace; for as she came out of the prison, filled with horror at the sight of the number of dead bodies which she had to pass over, a ruffian struck her with a sabre on the back part of her head, which caused a violent effusion of blood; her bowels and her heart were taken out, and her head placed on a pike. Other circumstances attended her death, accompanied with such acts of savage indecency, that if they could be related, they would appear as incredible as they are dreadful.

After glutting themselves in this cruel way, the mob formed a bloody cavalcade; the heads and bodies of those most inimical to them were fixed on pikes, and borne through the streets for a considerable length of time. At last they stopped at the Palais Royal, and the remains of the victims were exposed to a surrounding mob; previously, however, shewing to the Queen the mutilated limbs of the Princess Lamballe. More than five thousand persons perished in this massacre.

The force of the French commander-in-chief at this period, it is said, did not equal that under the authority

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**Dumourier reinforced.**

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of General Clairfait; but in this moment of suspense, the military genius of Dumourier burst forth with great splendor: by the wonderful manœuvres and stratagems which his inventive mind was preparing for execution, he resolved to divide his strength. To Galbaud, who was stationed at a pass in the forest of Argonne, which Dumourier looked on as of the first importance to the issue of the campaign, he sent Dillon (4th of September) with considerable reinforcements. Just at this time it was abandoned by Galbaud, as impossible to be retained; but when he saw the supplies which had been sent him, he returned to its defence with renewed vigour; and it proved, in a manner, to France, what Thermopylæ had been to Greece. Dumourier, in the mean time, took the post at Grand Pré under his own protection. It was soon contested for by the enemy; and as he could not retain it against the furious attack of such a force as he had to contend with, he retreated to St. Menchoud, a strong town, situated about twenty-six miles W. S. W. of Verdun. The Austrians lost a great number of men, together with prince Charles de Ligne.

Bourbonville joined Dumourier, with fifteen thousand men, as well as Kellerman, with the army under his command. (September 20) Dumourier now found himself in a condition to put an end to the incursions of the enemy. Kellerman, at the head of sixteen thousand men, repulsed a greatly superior division of the enemy, and rendered all their stratagems abortive. The Duke of Brunswick at the head of the Prussian troops, endeavoured to surround General Kellerman, and thus cut off his retreat, if he should be vanquished; but, the cautious eye of Dumourier disarranged all his plans,

In spite of the reinforcements which Dumourier had



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The Duke of Brunswick demands an Armistice.

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so lately received, his force was still scarcely one-third what the enemy could muster. They were in possession of Varennes, and their camp on the heights of La Lune was considered impregnable. The French army, therefore, had no retreat in an easterly, westerly, or northerly direction, and the roads to the south, at this season of the year, were nothing but mire. These reasons likewise discouraged the enemy from an active perseverance. The great importance of the pass which Dillon so nobly defended, has been noticed. It prevented the Duke of Brunswick from arriving at Paris in the way he at first intended, and it appeared to him almost impossible to make the French abandon it. In this situation no other alternative was left him than to attempt a tedious route by the way of Varennes and Grand Pré, which would have added at least fifty miles to his march; a sad addition, since his troops were to much dispirited, and almost starving. They were seized, too, with a dreadful distemper, which, in its ravages proved more destructive than the weapons of the French, and it was rendered more violent by the improper use of unripe grapes, instead of bread, of which, it is reported, they were entirely deprived for the space of four days.

In so melancholy a state, the Duke of Brunswick demanded an armistice. It is worthy remarking how a change of circumstances induces a man to act inconsistent. In July the Duke published his famed Manifesto; and, in September, he declared his willingness to acknowledge the very constitution against which he had taken up arms. He is reported to have said to Dumourier, respecting the King; "Make him your King, under the strictest limits. Do not content yourselves with tying him up like the King of Eng-

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He evacuates France—Verdun re-taken.

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“land—make him a King of the Mahrattes—make him a  
“Stadtholder—make him the principal tax-gatherer of  
“the country—give him only a place—this is all we ask,  
“and then we shall have a pretext for retiring.”

The Prussian army immediately after evacuated France, and their example was followed by the troops of Austria and Hesse Cassel. On leaving the entrenched camp on the heights of La Lunc, the French found about three hundred horses half devoured, so dreadfully in want had the enemy been of provisions.

Soon after the French retook Verdun, and they followed up their conquest by the re-capture of Longwy, (October 22) under General Valence, and France being thus freed from the allied armies, the Assembly decreed the country no longer in danger.

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### CHAPTER XIII.

WHEN Royalty was suspended, the Assembly placed the government in the hands of seven Ministers, who were denominated the Executive Council, and in those were included the Republican ministers of Louis, by whose dismissal he had so much offended the Assembly and the clubs.

The season for the meeting of the Convention came at last; every one looked to it with anxiety for the restoration of harmony and order.

On the 21st of September, the National Assembly resigned its functions, and gave up its power to the Convention, by an address of renunciation, and an assurance that they would serve as an advanced guard of the new legislature. The Convention chose Petion their president; and, having decreed that the laws should be continued in force, and the usual taxes demanded, Collet d'Herbois rose, and said, that the Convention ought not to adjourn, till it had decreed the total abolition of Royalty in France. Deputies rose to demand that the question might be instantly put. M. Bazire exclaimed against the ardour which seemed to have taken possession of their minds, and besought them to argue a question of so much magnitude with the dignity that became them. His advice was looked on as the dull prudence of a vulgar mind, unworthy the practice of philosophers of superior light, and the National Convention briefly decreed, that "Royalty is abolished in France." Loud applauses, and exclamations of "*Vive la Nation!*" following the decree; minutes of the sitting were ordered to be sent to the Departments, and to the armies, as well as to be proclaimed throughout Paris.

At the next Sitting M. Condorcet was elected Vice-president, and the Convention decreed :

1. That all public acts should be dated the first year of the French Republic.
2. That the seal of the country shall be changed, and have for a legend, "French Republic."
3. That the National Seal shall represent a woman, sitting on a bundle of arms, and holding a pike in her hand, with a cap of liberty upon it, and upon the exergue, the words, "Archives of the French Republic."
4. That no petitioners shall be admitted to the bar till the evening sitting.

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*Violent Disputes of the Parties.*

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Those decrees having passed, a debate ensued, which tended to guide the judgment, as to the character of the proceedings likely to be adopted by the convention. A motion was made, That all citizens, without distinction, are eligible to vacant places; and that all the members of the judiciary bodies, now in the exercise of their functions, shall be changed.

Several foreigners were among the members; amongst them was Anacharsis Cloots, and the ringleaders of many gangs of rioters; such as Legendre, the butcher, who had assisted Santerre in breaking into the Palace, and insulting the King on the 20th of June; and Tallien, who signed the order for assembling the assassins of Paris to murder the unhappy prisoners on the 2d and 3d of September.

Now that the King was no longer in their way, the parties began to display themselves in their violence and abuse of each other. The Brissotins, though fully as treacherous as the Robespierians, and the Orleanites, were not so cruel; and, as they kept the government in their own power, they had no view in encouraging the bloody scenes which had so long disgraced the country.

Violent disputes took place between the parties, and (Louvét,) a man as vain as the rest, but not equally contaminated with guilt, publicly noted Marat, Robespierre, and Chabot, as leaders in the massacres, and conspirators against the new government. No doubts were held of the truth of the accusations; had they been remarked properly by those in power, the disturbers of the public peace might have got some respect for the laws; but Brissot resorted to the cowardly and illusive practice of moving the order of the day.

This corruption of the leaders of every party prevented

the Convention, as it had done the National Assembly, from using any means adapted to enforce obedience to the laws. The members flattered the licentiousness of the mob contrary to their consciences, because they were not independent enough to harangue in defence of justice: and the country became the seat of vice, to an immense extent; or, as one of the republican members of the Convention expressed himself, "an immeasurable mass of crimes, unknown to the most savage nations, burst forth as a torrent, whose dikes were broken, and, spreading itself over a vast empire, threatening to deluge the whole globe."

To such a state did France arrive very soon after the Convention had assembled; yet this did not hinder its friends in other countries from presenting congratulatory addresses, and exerting themselves to give every effect to its measures: this conduct would seem very strange, but for the following considerations: first, that most of the powers of Europe had been so fast approaching to despotism, that the people hardly saw the means of keeping freedom but by some desperate measure, and, secondly, that as they were not witnesses of the crimes committed in France, but merely heard of them through those powers, whose injustice towards La Fayette, and the real friends of liberty, made them totally unworthy of credit.

On the 26th of September the Convention was acquainted that the Duchy of Savoy had surrendered their country to the French troops, in hopes of passing under the government of France. It was one of the first principles of the Revolution, that no wars could be justified, save those of defence; and that France should not keep the dominions of her neighbours as conquests: but, like

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*The Emigrants ordered to quit France.*

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all their fine theories, this was too strong for the patriots to resist, and in a very short time it was decreed that Savoy should form an eighty-fourth department of France, under the title of *Mont Blanc*. General Montesquieu had been accused as a traitor, and a decree of dismissal issued, of course, in the hasty manner that the Convention did their business; when General Montesquieu's letter was read, stating his entrance into Savoy, although it was totally apart from charges exhibited against him, the decree of dismissal was recalled; so that every officer was instantly taught, that innocence was no security, unless crowned by success; and guilt no fault, if covered by a triumph; and the doctrine was soon carried to its utmost extent, by bringing all the generals to pillage the territories contiguous to France, or shed their blood under the guillotine. The views of the Convention towards their neighbours by degrees unfolded themselves, and they were only interrupted to invent some new scourge to afflict their own people.

Many emigrants now returned to their native country, in the idea that they would procure the support and protection of their fellow-citizens; but the Convention issued a decree, which we must consider as unnecessarily severe. It was folly to suppose, that a few obscure individuals, seeking shelter where they were born, could have influence enough to overturn the constitution of France; and yet they were commanded to quit the kingdom (27 September) in twenty-four hours, or to be put to death, should they not comply.

During this time the armies shewed a degree of courage, and fought with that success that dismayed the oldest military councils of Europe. Thionville resisted all the Austrian attempts to reduce it during the whole cam-

paign. This small, but strong place, was commanded by General Wimpfen, who when summoned to surrender, replied: "You may destroy the fortress, and not leave one stone upon another; but you cannot burn the ramparts." An anecdote concerning the siege of this place deserves notice, as it described the fixed resolution of its defenders. Having gotten a quantity of forage in one of their sallies, they made a wooden horse for the inspection of the enemy, with a box hanging from his neck filled with hay, bearing this inscription: When this horse has eaten this hay, then the city of Thionville will surrender. They kept their word. The general resisted the attacks of a force which amounted to about twenty-eight thousand men, and in different successful sallies he did them immense mischief. He was at last relieved by the retreat of the combined powers, when he and his gallant troops received those marks of gratitude and esteem to which their gallant conduct justly entitled them. The most remarkable siege which distinguished this campaign was that of Lisle, a strong fortified town of French Flanders. The enemy looked on the possession of the city as of the greatest importance to their undertaking, and its reduction was thought worthy of the greatest profusion of men and money. It was besieged about the beginning of September, and on the 23d of that month the Assembly received a declaration from its defenders, that they would bury themselves under the ruins of the town sooner than abandon their post."

Six days afterwards (29th September,) it was summoned to surrender by the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, who received from the council-general this spirited reply: "We have renewed an oath to be true to the nation, or to die at our post. We will not be guilty of perjury." The conse-

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The Siege of Lisle raised.

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quences of this declaration could easily be foreseen. The Austrian batteries were directly opened upon it, and levelled for a week, against that part of the town inhabited by the lower orders of the community, no doubt to render them rebellious on account of their sufferings, and by this means obtain a capitulation when the populace became superior to the magistrates. The Duke's idea was extremely rational; but after such an immense waste of ammunition, as a constant fire continued for a week, must have occasioned, he found, that the people were as loyal as their magistrates. So far were any symptoms of mutiny from being discovered, as the Duke supposed, the keys of the city were hung up on the tree of liberty in the centre of the great square, accompanied with a solemn oath, that he who should take them down, with an idea of capitulation, should be instantly put to death. The magistrates and military divided themselves into distinct companies, each of which had its peculiar duty, and even the women and children employed themselves in preventing the fatal effects which resulted from the enemy's bombardment. The city was sadly shattered by the instruments of death that were almost incessantly thrown into it; and they preferred taking refuge in cellars and vaults, rather than capitulate. As if moved by one soul, the inhabitants of these houses which were reduced to ruins, found a shelter in those which still remained habitable.

Finding that nothing, however horrible, could induce them to surrender, the Austrians raised the siege after a bombardment of seven days. The loss sustained by the city of Lisle did not exceed five hundred: and of this number, nearly three-fourths were women and children. This is the more remarkable, as, besides their batter-



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The French Fleet attack Onaglia.

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ing train, the Austrians are stated to have thrown 6,000 bombs, and 30,000 red-hot shot into this important place.

The armies in the south were still more rapid in success. General Anselm, bred an ecclesiastic, crossed the Var on the 29th of September, and co-operating with Admiral Truguet, who had a fleet of nine sail of the line, he took possession of Nice, a sea-port town, situated at the mouth of the Var, deserted by the garrison of Piedmontese, whenever the victorious republicans made their appearance. This mode was followed by Villa Franca, Montalban, and the whole of that territory; but, owing to the imprudence of the General, and to the want of order which the army discovered, the troops gave general disgust, and their reputation was regarded with contempt. This circumstance was so sorely felt by the National Convention, being so different to the reception of Montesquieu, that Anselm was deprived of his military rank, and confined in prison for several years.

The Admiral of the French fleet raised the popular hatred against that country, by an act of severity generally looked on as unjustifiable. He had dispatched a flag of truce, on his arrival at Onaglia, with a proclamation to the inhabitants, that the French nation were anxious to be their friends. This was taken to their magistrates by one of his captains. At a great distance the Admiral went in another boat, without an officer, and gave strict orders to the fleet not to approach the shore, that no alarm might be given. The people at first discovered no hostile disposition towards the captain, but when he addressed them on the purport of his mission, which they looked on as wanting them to rebel against their government, he was saluted by a shower of muske-

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General Montesquieu retires from Command.

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try, the effect of which was, that Marshal Lahouliere's aid-de-camp, two midshipmen, and four seamen, were killed, and the captain, with the adjutant-general of the land forces were wounded. This raised the indignation of the Admiral; and he would take no apology from the magistrates, as it appeared to him that such conduct would admit of no excuse. His boat being placed out of danger, he directly gave orders to the squadron to drop their anchors and open a tremendous fire against the town. It was, likewise, attacked from the shore by Marshal Lahouliere, and, after it was plundered by the conquerors, it was set on fire in several parts.

The haughty spirit of the French began now to shew itself towards Geneva. The taking of Savoy gave great alarm to the neighbouring states, and the aristocratical party in Geneva were under weighty apprehensions. They wished for a garrison of 1,600 men from the other Swiss cantons, while the French contended that Geneva should be under the inspection of their own republic. The Convention likewise had an eye to the republic of Geneva, as the Swiss garrison appeared to give much offence. Montesquieu appeared before the city, but his resolution was totally subdued. The aristocrats overcame his resolves, and caused him to exceed his orders, by exhibiting the olive branch of peace; the consequence was, the Swiss garrison was disbanded, and the French general withdrew his troops. By this conduct, General Montesquieu became a mark for fresh calumny, and various charges were preferred against him; he fancied he should receive no justice if he consented to a trial, and that every action of his life would be misconstrued by his enemies; he therefore retired into Switzerland.

## CHAPTER XIV.

WE now take a view of the conduct of Custine on the Upper Rhine, whose glorious career has few parallels in military tactics. When he began his course of victory on the 29th of September, the dreadful state of the roads, and the great quantity of rain which had fallen, made it extremely difficult for him to muster his forces at Landau. He began his march, however, in the face of every opposition, and arrived at Spires on the following day. There he found the Austrians prepared to give him a warm reception. Their right was defended by a rising ground, and their left by thick hedges. These positions did not prevent him from giving them battle, and he compelled them to retire within the city. Here they thought themselves secure, but the triumphant Custine soon taught them otherwise. Finding that it would be delaying time to force the gates by his artillery, he proposed to his troops to cut them down with axes, which was adopted, and quickly accomplished. The army made a passage for themselves, and suffered more than they could have done, had they not been so precipitate. The enemy, from the houses where they had taken shelter, poured a most tremendous fire on them; but the general, cool in the midst of danger, found means to dislodge them by his artillery and howitzers, and in a short time took entire possession of the city. Three thousand prisoners, a prodigious quantity of artillery and howitzers, were the fruits of this conquest.

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Spires and Frankfort taken by the Republican Troops.

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A division of Custine's army, under General Neuvigner, took Worms, and the fall of Spires almost instantly followed. They conquered so rapidly, that the enemy were unable to secure their stores and ammunition, immense quantities of which fell into the hands of the victors. By order of M. Custine, the Bishop of Spires, with the chapter and the magistrates, were obliged to pay large sums for the benefit of the Republican troops. This conquest only sharpened the appetite of the General and his army for fresh glory. He reached Mentz on the 19th of October, and although the garrison at this place consisted of six thousand men, the very next day he summoned the Governor to surrender. One day only was asked, in order to prepare a definitive answer, and yet a heavy fire was kept up from the garrison. This gave rise to a second and more peremptory message from M. Custine, which had the wished-for effect. The town capitulated, and the troops marched out with the honours of war, but under this express condition, that they should not appear in arms against the French Republic so long as the war continued.—Frankfort was the next place he attacked, of which he took possession on the 23d of the same month. A large sum was exacted from the magistrates of this city, for it had been a very active place in affording protection to the Emigrants. The sum demanded is stated to have been fifteen hundred thousand florins.

M. Custine's ambition was not satisfied with his rapid conquests, splendid as they were, for he meant to have marched to Coblenz, had not an unforeseen disappointment arisen. Coblenz was a nest of enmity against the French Republic; it was his resolution to have directed his vengeance against it, had he got the reinforcements

under General Kellerman, of whose slow movements he loudly complained. He wanted him to advance towards Treves and Coblenz, by way of the rivers Sorre and Moselle, leaving only a small detachment to keep watch over the Prussians. Kellerman exculpated himself from these charges, by declaring, that, since he had not the co-operation of M. Dumourier, General Valence and himself could muster only twenty-nine thousand men between them; a force, totally unable to force its way through fifty-five thousand Prussians. And he deemed it treacherous and impolitic to leave the frontiers of France again exposed to the enemy.

General Custine, thus finding it impossible to go on with his favorite object, continued in the chace of glory through the dominions of the Prince of Hesse. He was doomed, however, to suffer a change of fortune. The Prussians, Hessians, and Austrians joined, so that it was impossible for him to end the campaign as he began it.

General Dumourier was now about to make a more splendid figure in the field of battle than ever. He consulted with the Convention about the regulations required in the armies, and to put them on a proper footing for the next campaign. His ardour in the pursuit of glory and victory was such, that he remained only four days at Paris about this important business, when he departed to join the army. His chief object was the conquest of such of the Netherlands as belonged to Austria. Since the enemy were obliged to raise the siege of Lisle, they were constantly forced to retreat before the victorious arms of the Republic; but once beyond the frontiers, they agreed, if possible, to stop their career, when within their own territories. The chief object for this matter was to concentrate their strength, since they had been so scattered in

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Dumourier defeats the Austrians at Bossu.

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almost every direction, while retreating. This once performed, they determined to act upon the defensive, and prevent the Republican commander from advancing into their territories. Dumourier found that the Austrians were resolved to put an end to his career; for, at the village of Bossu, where they had taken a most excellent position, they shewed they were disposed to dispute his progress. An action commenced (4th November) between the hostile armies, and victory was not slow in declaring for the French. The Austrians had between eight and ten thousand men; they lost one hundred and fifty killed, and two hundred made prisoners. Dumourier's loss was only twenty men. He admits that his artillery was superior to the enemy, and that the ardour of his cavalry was irresistible.

It is just to observe, that the Austrians had not the most distant idea of so sudden an attack from Dumourier. The officers of note had prepared a sumptuous entertainment, like men who had nothing to fear, little supposing it was so shortly to become the property of the French commander. His stay was short, having more interesting plans in his eye, and he left Bossu on the next morning, at an early hour. He marched towards Mons, and soon came in sight of the enemy's force, posted on the heights of Gemappe. Their right was defended by that village, and their left by an almost impenetrable wood. This favourable position, made still more so by the help of the river Lorneau and a strong fortification of three tier of cannon, in all about one hundred pieces of heavy artillery, seemed to defy the most formidable attacks, and might have instilled dismay even to view it from a distance. But Dumourier was proof against fear; and neither the dreadful roar of can-

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The famous Battle of Gemappe.

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non, nor the awful explosion of shells, could lessen his fortitude. It rose beyond all opposition; his presence of mind never abandoned him, and he commanded soldiers whose courage equalled his own, although their experience was doubtless inferior. The first qualification was all they required with such a general; they were chiefly young men, full of fire and spirit, whose eagerness to have a close engagement with the enemy it was almost impossible to restrain. In fact, it was not the wish nor the interest of the General to check it. He was delighted to behold it, and all the restraints he laid upon it, were only intended to increase its violence. Dumourier's situation being evidently disadvantageous, stationed in a sort of valley, and the enemy on the heights, he had no great hopes of success from his artillery, as it would be very difficult, in the hurry of an engagement, to point them so as to do any material injury. Artillery in an open plain, and chiefly directed against an enemy on an eminence, is at best but an uncertain way of fighting, and of this the General was convinced after a three hours trial. A general engagement took place on the 6th, and a dreadful cannonade continued till ten. It was evident to Dumourier, that no decisive step could be effected by the artillery, which he allows was equal to that of the Austrians, for which reason he resolved to abandon the use of them for the present, and use the bayonet. On going through the troops which composed his line, he was glad to perceive their former impatient zeal continued unabated.

To accomplish his designs he ordered Adjutant-General Thuvenot to attempt the village of Carignon, which it was necessary to possess, that he might assail Gemappe from that quarter, while, he informs us, that a heavy

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Egalité, Duke of Orleans, has a Command there.

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fire of artillery was kept up on the enemy's right. The French army did not exceed 30,000, while the Austrian troops are stated to have amounted to upwards of 20,000, including 3000 cavalry. Other accounts say the French amounted to 40,000, and the Austrians to 28,000. The van-guard, forming the right wing of the army, was commanded by Generals Dampierre and Bournonville, with whose talents and attachment to their country the world is acquainted. The centre was entrusted to Stettenboffe, Despolets, Drouet, and Egalité, (the present Duke of Orleans), and of whom M. Dumourier spoke in terms of great praise. This General had cool valour, the more remarkable, as he was young, a time at which coolness and deliberation are not so often evinced as fiery intrepidity. The first redoubt was an easy conquest, and carried with but little hazard. But by the numerous obstructions which presented themselves, the Commander in Chief observed his centre would be in danger, as the enemy were marching all their cavalry into the plain, for the purpose of flanking Dumourier's columns. He despatched Lieutenant-General Egalité to counteract this manoeuvre of the Austrians; and, succeeding in this, he led them on to attack the second tier of cannon. Fearful that the force under Egalité would not be sufficient to carry this redoubt, he fortunately came to his assistance himself, with the third regiment of chasseurs and the sixth of hussars, and not only checked the enemy's cavalry, but a formidable foe, that threatened their total ruin.

Dumourier observed Bournonville's cavalry in a state of confusion when he visited the right wing, owing to the General's absence at the head of his brave infantry, and the first and second redoubts in possession of the



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The French Troops anxious to attack Mons.

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French. The commander in Chief rallied the disordered cavalry, who vigorously attacked the enemy, by this time approached to the right flank of the republican army. They had no reason to be proud of their success, for, although every effort was used to force the Parisian volunteers, they were received by them with the greatest bravery and fortitude, killing sixty of them at the first discharge.

The left wing got possession of the village of Gemappe, and the centre were masters of the second redoubt, as already mentioned. It was yet necessary to bring the enemy to action on the heights, which was of shorter continuance than those that preceded it; for the rapid and almost unparalleled successes of the Republicans in so short a time had dismayed the Austrians. The Commander in Chief found it impossible to express his content with the gallant conduct of his troops and their Generals upon this remarkable occasion. Although the men were strangers to proper nourishment for three days, and were unable to prepare their soup on this dreadful day, they exclaimed, almost with a degree of disrespect, that they would march against Mons, which they were resolved to carry by storm. M. Dumourier promised them that satisfaction on the following day; and he was delighted to remark, that neither hunger nor fatigue repressed their ardour and intrepidity. He designed to draw a line round the city, and attack it in several places at once. But his preparations were found to be unnecessary, for the panic-struck Austrians evacuated Mons on the night before, leaving only a garrison behind them of 400 men, who likewise retreated about nine on that evening, locking the gates of the city. In place of wanting his batteries to bombard the town, as he at first expected,

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Valour of Baptiste, Dumourier's Valet.

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the magistrates were ready to invite him, the inhabitants having broken down the gates, barricaded by the Austrians on their leaving them. General Dumourier, whose generosity was equal to his military valour, on having the keys of the city, made this reply: "that the French came as brothers and friends, to engage them to keep their gates constantly shut against their ancient oppressors, and to defend the liberty they had now acquired."

This battle, one of the most memorable ever fought, completely decided the fate of the Netherlands. The loss of the Austrians on the 6th of November, has been estimated at no less than 4000 killed and wounded, with a number of prisoners, whilst the French had no more than 900 killed, according to Dumourier's own account, although it is likely that the difference was not so great. This day was remarked by some acts of individual valour, which will be remembered by the admirers of fortitude to the latest posterity. Baptiste, General Dumourier's valet-de-chambre, rallied five squadrons of cavalry and two battalions of national guards, and rushed in, sword in hand, to the entrenchments of the enemy, and totally dislodged them. The aid-de-camp appeared at the bar of the Convention with despatches from the General in Chief, and, like a son of Mars, introduced himself as follows:—

"I am a soldier, not an orator—the soldier of a Republican army should never open his mouth but to bite off the end of his cartridge; but I offer to the just admiration of the Convention the brave Baptiste, General Dumourier's valet-de-chambre, who forced the enemy, sword in hand, to quit their entrenchments. The General having asked him what reward he wished

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Baptiste presented at the Bar of the Convention.

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for, he replied, the *honour* of wearing the national uniform."

When Baptiste advanced to the bar, the hall resounded with bursts of applause. He was three times embraced by Lieutenant-Colonel Loure, by whom he was introduced, which caused the plaudits to be renewed, when the President thus addressed him:—

"Brave citizen, you have raised yourself to the rank of a first defender of the French Republic; till you receive the reward which it owes you, enter the temple of the laws, amidst our acclamations. The legislators are happy to find among them one of the brave conquerors of Mons."

The President embraced him, and the scene finished with marks of satisfaction and joy.

General Dumourier resolved to follow up these glorious victories by getting farther into the enemy's country; and from Mons he marched towards Brussels. The rear of the enemy, to the amount of 10,000 men, he found posted on the heights of Anderlecht, three miles westward of that city, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg. He met with strong opposition, which lasted upwards of six hours. The Prince, after a great loss in killed and wounded, retreated and joined the main body of the army, while the French Commander in Chief entered (14th November) Brussels in triumph.

Tournay, Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp, opened their gates to the French. General Valence took Louvain and Namur, after a slight opposition on the part of the Austrian Commander, on the 2d of December, and the Generals Biron and Miranda were equally victorious.

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*Dumourier defeats the Austrian General Staray.*

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The French fleet entered the port of Ostend on the 15th of the previous month; and, with the exception of Luxembourg, the Republicans were masters of the Austrian Netherlands before the end of the year 1792. Dumourier received proposals for an armistice from the Prince of Saxe Teschen, in behalf of General Clairfait; he sent it to the Executive Council, and returned for answer, that he should in the mean time continue his campaign. He followed up his rapid marches and conquests, by pursuing the enemy into the territory of Liege. He proceeded (21st of November) with 5000 men to Tirlemont, behind which place he found the army of the enemy encamped, their advanced guard consisting of between 3 and 4000 men.

Having gained Tirlemont, he advanced the next day towards Liege, and on the 27th he fell in with the rear-guard of the Imperial troops, close to the gates of the city, in force about 12,000 men, commanded by General Staray. A bloody contest ensued, and the French were victorious, forcing the enemy to give up no less than six villages and a strong entrenchment. The Austrians lost about six hundred men killed and wounded, with their general, a prodigious quantity of artillery, and a number of prisoners and deserters.

This great general's design was, after his triumph at Gemappe and the conquest of Belgium, to increase his laurels by overcoming Holland also, and his army being reinforced with 60,000 Dutch and Brabanters, to take the Austrian army in the rear; and, by dictating a peace on the field of battle, enable France to arrange her constitution and settle her own tranquillity. This design was overturned by the spirit of the Maratists, who preached the necessity of removing the General, fearful

he should gain more popularity than they thought consistent with their doctrine of equality. The war minister, M. Paché, under the influence of this sanction, criminally neglected Dumourier's army. The brave troops were in want of the common necessities of life, at the time immense sums were voted in the Convention to grant them relief.

The result was, that upwards of 15,000 men were in the hospitals, upwards of 25,000 deserted through misery and disgust, and more than 10,000 horses died of hunger.

The factions towards each other were influenced by far different motives. The Brisotines had the government, the Jacobins the passions of the mob; and the Orleanites the way of corrupting the partizans of both by money. Their power was so equal, that, in spite of their hatred of each other, their rancour boiled in their bosoms, and exerted its efforts to vent itself, until its vehemence became too strong for restraint; and then it effected an unworthy union, betwixt them all to renew their projects against their feeble king, who was defenceless and within their power. The cowards began their attack by judging him on the very ground on which they agreed to the motion for bringing him to trial; namely, that "a decree of accusation should pass against the principal traitor, Louis XVI;" in fact, he was usually spoken of in all debates, as Louis the traitor; and in this spirit they began a process of assassination, which they sought to evade, concealing it under the mock forms of a trial.

The appearance of rectitude was endeavoured to be preserved by the speeches made about justice; yet when Mannel moved that whoever undertook the defence of

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He is tried and found guilty.

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Louis should be put under the protection of the law, they answered him by murmurs and hootings; and those who did defend him were sent to the scaffold. Mannel himself, and Kersaint, who looked on the proceeding as a conspiracy to commit murder, they guillotined also.

On the 11th of December the king was brought to the bar, and was permitted to choose M. M. Deseze, Tronchet, and Malherbes, his defenders. The trial lasted thirty-four days, and being satisfied they had played the farce long enough, the Convention pronounced him guilty.

The same cordiality did not prevail as to the sentence as with regard to the verdict. The Brissotines, less sanguinary than their antagonists, were so well satisfied with having obtained his power, that they did not wish to take his life, whilst Orleans and Robespierre were bent on being satisfied with nothing short of his blood.

When the *protes verbal* was read, which had the answers of all the members to the question, *What punishment shall he suffer?* even the blood hounds of the Convention were struck with horror, when they heard that Philip Egalité, duke of Orleans, the King's own relation, and the only one whose word had the slightest influence with the people, had voted for death!

On the roll there was a majority of five for death. When the fatal decision was properly ascertained, the President, with a solemn tone of voice, and with his head uncovered, said,

"In consequence of this, I declare, that the punishment decreed by the National Convention, against  
"Louis Capet is DEATH."

The King's council were again admitted to the bar,

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He appeals to the Nation.

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and M. Deseze read the copy of a letter to the Convention, in the King's hand-writing.

" I owe it to my honour, I owe it to my family, not to  
 " subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty of a  
 " crime of which I cannot accuse myself. *In conse-*  
 " *quence, I appeal to the Nation from the sentence of its*  
 " *Representatives ; and I commit, by these presents, to*  
 " *the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the*  
 " National Convention this appeal by all the means in  
 " their power ; and to demand that mention of it be  
 " made in the minutes of their sittings.

(Signed)

" LOUIS."

When he presented this letter, M. Deseze exclaimed, with his usual flow of eloquence, " Do not afflict France  
 " by a judgment that will appear dreadful, when five  
 " voices only were thought enough to carry it." He then beseeched the Convention to refer their judgment to the tribunal of the people. " You have either for-  
 " gotten or destroyed," said the fascinating M. Tronchet, " the lenity which the law allows to criminals, of  
 " requiring at least two thirds of the voices to constitute  
 " a definitive judgment." The last effort that they could make in favour of the fallen Monarch, was to ask a respite, and delay the execution of the sentence ; but this was likewise refused. The members were merely to give a simple *yes* or *no* ; and at midnight, the 19th of January, there appeared for the respite 310, and against it 880 ; majority 70 for immediate execution.

Louis entreated a respite for only three days, that he should not be hurried away without a proper preparation for this awful change ; but, with a degree of savage bar-

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Takes leave of the Queen and his Family.

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barity, which will be remembered to their utter disgrace while time endures, the Convention refused his request.

The sentence was not finally determined before two o'clock, and the decree was ordered to the Executive Council, who were directed to notify it to Louis, and to have it executed within twenty-four hours afterwards, and to take all means of safety and police that might appear to them requisite during the execution.

Roland, Claviere, Monge, Le Brun, Pache, and Garot, were the Council, who ordered the execrable Santerre to procure 1200 of the greatest ruffians of Paris, armed with sixteen rounds each, to form round the carriage of the helpless Monarch, and by noon on the 21st to drag him to the scaffold.

Paris was illuminated on the 20th, and no person permitted to go at large in the streets. Bodies of armed men patrolled in every district of that immense metropolis; the sound of coaches ceased, the streets deserted, and the city buried in an awful silence. About two o'clock in the morning of the fatal 21st, voices were heard through the gloom of lamentation and distress; but whence they came or what they were, no one has ever discovered.

This, with many other things, alarmed the people. The unhappy Monarch passed all Sunday in preparing for his change. His coolness and patience evinced great eminence of soul; but the parting of his family was too painful to the feelings of humanity! The Queen hung round his neck in delirious anguish; the Princess Royal grasped his hand; the Dauphin caught his knees; and Madame Elizabeth bathed his feet with her tears. The Queen was at last taken from him in a state of insensibi-



lity, which she did not recover from before two o'clock on Monday afternoon. The King, on this sad spectacle, shewed all the affection of a husband, a father, a brother; and, seeming to be more affected by the affliction of those so dear and so beloved than by his own misfortunes, consoled them in the most soothing manner. Having gone through this trying scene, he now prepared to meet his God. The conversation which he was allowed to hold with his confessor, it is said, was pious, sensible, and animated; and his hope was full of immortality. He protested his innocence, and forgave his enemies from his heart. On Monday morning as the clocks struck eight, he was summoned to his fate. He was conducted to a coach belonging to the Mayor of Paris, in which were two soldiers of the gend'armerie. He was attended by his Confessor, and aided to step into the carriage by one or two of the sentinels, who were at the gate of the Temple.

The place of execution was filled with an immense crowd of people, and large bodies of horse and foot were there to awe the multitude. The most deadly silence prevailed, while the coach advanced slowly towards the scaffold. Louis mounted it with fortitude, a firm step, and unaltered countenance. He was attended on the scaffold by his confessor, and two or three municipal officers. He looked around upon the people with a complacent countenance, and was preparing to address them, when the ruffian Santerre cried out, "No speeches! come, no speeches!" and suddenly the drums beat, and trumpets sounded. He spoke, but the only expressions that could be distinctly heard, were these:

"I forgive my enemies: may God forgive them, and



LOUIS 16<sup>th</sup>.  
(late King of France.)

*Engraved by J. Mallet for the author of the Life of Louis XVI. and the History of the French Revolution.*



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His Death and Character.

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not lay my innocent blood to the charge of the nation !  
God bless my people."

The confessor went on his knees, and implored the King's blessing, who gave it with an affectionate embrace. The unfortunate Monarch then placed his head upon the block with wonderful serenity, and ceased to live in this world ! Before his execution, he wrote to the National Convention, entreating to be buried near his father in the cathedral of Sens, in the department of Yonne, 82 miles south-south-east of Paris, and 35 west-south-west of Troyes, capital of the department of Auby. They passed to the order of the day. He was buried in the cemetery ground of the new Magdelain, about 800 feet north of the place of execution, and his grave filled with quick lime.

The understanding of Louis was far beyond mediocrity; he had acquired a great fund of knowledge by reading; his memory was very tenacious; and his judgment in arranging what his memory had retained, was frequently displayed in a way that was highly creditable to him. On the state and interests of France and the powers of Europe, he was by no means at a loss. History and geography were his favourite studies. To the former he paid much attention; and his proficiency in the latter was so great, that the instructions to the navigator Perouse; were drawn up by his own hand: he was imagined to be the best geographer in his kingdom; and he occasionally practised some of the mechanical arts.

Just, beneficent, a good husband, a good father, and a lover of his people; he would, had he lived at a time less turbulent, when the higher talents are not required

in a ruler, have done honour to a throne. The faith in which he had been educated, he followed with sincerity and warmth, but with no mixture of uncharitable zeal. On the goodness of the Deity he relied. That reliance gave him consolation in the latter part of his reign, and fortitude in the hour of death. He resorted to it for support, and it made him triumph over slander, captivity, and the grave.

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## CHAPTER XV.

THEIR unhallowed project was scarcely finished, when the short-sighted Republicans discovered, that in despite of all their sanguine expectations and their guilty labours, the Republic could not exist a single day. They had just lived long enough to soil their consciences with the blackest crimes, and when they fancied to reap the reward of their guilt, they found their peace of mind exchanged for ceaseless chagrin and remorse. The minister Roland wrote a letter of resignation to the Convention two days after leading the King to the scaffold, and in the interim made up his accounts, and declared his resolution never to sit in the council again, for the members were guilty of misapplying the public money.

The Convention accepted the resignation of Roland, and though the minister of war, Pache, who had misapplied the supplies for the army, was obliged to remove,

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Bad Conduct of the French Government.

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to appease that army, he had accomplices enough to get him appointed Mayor of Paris.

A great part of Europe were induced to imagine that the power of France could not last ; for, added to the troubles by which she appeared to be committing suicide upon herself, it was understood that the combined powers had formed a partition treaty, by which France was to be dismembered, and most of her territories divided amongst the hostile powers ; and one of the most powerful states of Europe (England), assisted by Holland, Spain, and Naples, had shewn a disposition to join the league.

The French government's conduct was marked by such injustice and aggression, that its own partizans would have been ashamed of defending it, if they had time to reflect : but the English ministry made use of so many unnecessary measures of provocation, that it caused an obstinate denial of its just complaints, which could only be maintained by its own foolish irritations. The administration was in the hands of a set of quacks, who thought themselves able to play off the talents of great war-ministers, and had been deceived in several plans to display their genius in this way ; had they allowed this opportunity to pass by unimproved, the probability was, that another might not offer ; and then, notwithstanding their vast abilities, they might be transmitted to posterity with no more fame than their plodding predecessors. The executive council in vain gave such a commentary upon the decree of fraternization as would have defeated its end ; in vain they offered to leave the affair of the Scheldt to the Belgians and the Dutch. The English government, though it had to do with furies, whose rage could be calmed only by soothing treatment,

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*Dumourier refits his Army.*

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chose to bluster rather than conciliate ; and the result was, that the Convention said that this government was resolved to go to war at all rates, and therefore published its own declaration of war against both England and Holland on the 2d of February 1793.

The success of the Republican armies on the frontiers was not so quick as it had been. The Prussians had fixed on the recapture of Frankfort, and, from the ill-will the inhabitants bore the French, they succeeded with great ease.

Custine was not cast down by the surrender of Frankfort and Mentz ; but resolved to stop the progress of the enemy. The Prussian army was 50,000 strong, and Custine could only muster 23,000 ; yet he maintained his ground and secured a retreat into a wood ; from whence he could annoy the enemy, and prevent his advancing into the country.

General Dumourier, when the Low Countries were subdued, turned his thoughts to the discipline of the army, and the supply of its wants ; he was also busied with a negotiation with the English government, to prevent the war extending to England or Holland. He not only wished to keep at peace with those powers, but to obtain their good offices to assist the means he meant to adopt for the release of the Royal Family, and restoring order in France.

When hostilities actually commenced, Holland was an object of attention to the French Republic, as its conquest would give them a marked superiority over the belligerent powers. It has been thought that Britain and Holland relied on the defection of Dumourier, or they would not have begun hostilities in so hasty a manner. His plan seems to have been, to advance with a body of

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Dumourier enters Holland.

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troops posted at Moerdyk, and covering that place, as also Gertruydenberg, six miles further north than Breda, on the right, and Bergen-op-Zoom, Steinberg, Klundert, and Williamstadt on the left, to get into Holland by the sea of Dort.

Dumourier, mean time, ordered General Miranda to march towards Maestricht, with a part of his army, to annoy it with red-hot balls and bombs, but not to attempt a siege at such a season of the year; and on being told that the Commander-in-Chief was beyond Moerdyk, he was to leave the siege to the conduct of General Valence, who was coming from Paris, and lose no time in pushing on to Nimeguen.

General Dumourier, before he attempted to penetrate into Holland, published an address to the people of that country, whom he called Batavians, and entreated them to rid themselves of what he called a tyrannical yoke—the government of the Stadtholder. His force consisted of twenty-one battalions, only two of them troops of the line, amounting, by his own account, to 13,700 men, including cavalry and light troops. He entered the territories of Holland on the 17th of February, and Breda was blockaded by his right division, under General d'Arcon, while he ordered Colonel Le Clerc, commander of the left, to blockade Bergen-op-Zoom. The out-works were abandoned, and Breda was inundated. On the 23d, Dumourier summoned Governor Byland, the commander of Breda to surrender, and this not being complied with, he mounted four mortars, and as many howitzers, when a heavy bombardment continued for some hours, but ceased towards evening. It was renewed next day on the part of the French with great vigour, when the Governor thought it best to surrender



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General Clairfait compels the French to retreat.

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Klundert, (a strong fortified town, about 14 miles N. W. of Breda, and 16 N. E. of Bergen-op-Zoom) was defended by the Governor with the greatest gallantry, but as he had no more than 150 men, it was impossible to hold out against the force of the enemy, and he surrendered. The next objects of Dumourier's attention were Williamstadt and Gertruydenberg, the former was attacked by a detachment under the command of General Berneron, and M. d'Arçon was ordered to attack the latter, which he compelled to surrender on the 4th of March. General Berneron carried on the siege of Williamstadt and Bergen-op-Zoom with great vigour assisted by Le Clerc, while the Commander-in-Chief was about to transport his army from Moerdyk to Dort, (a distance of about 11 miles), by means of boats which he got at Gertruydenberg, but there the brilliant successes of M. Dumourier were ordained to finish.

Although the army was shamefully neglected by the war-minister, it was still strong and respectable: this induced Miranda to go on with the siege of Maestricht with vigour, having the command of a large body of men, while General Le Noue encamped his troops at Herve, a village about nine miles from Liege. General Valence's outposts extended to Aix-la-Chapelle and the banks of the Roer. The Austrian General (Clairfait), having made the passage of this river on the 1st of March, came to an engagement with the French forces on the side of Durn, (about 15 miles E. of Aix-la-Chapelle) obliging them to retreat to Alderhaven, with the loss of 2000 men, twelve pieces of cannon, thirteen ammunition waggons, and the military chest. The French were the next day attacked by the Archduke, who took their batteries and nine pieces of cannon.

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Miranda forced to retreat.

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The Prince of Saxe Cobourg obtained a victory over them, by compelling them to abandon Aix-la-Chapelle, and retreat near Liege, leaving behind them 4000 killed on the field, 1600 prisoners, and 20 pieces of cannon. After a defeat like this, it was not likely that General Miranda would continue the siege of Maestricht, or in fact find it practicable, as he was informed next day, that the enemy were marching towards Wyck, on the other side of the river, 35,000 strong, undoubtedly with a view to grant every assistance to the garrison. He could scarcely withdraw the 3000 troops stationed there, under the command of General Leucneur, before the advanced guard of the enemy attacked them. The bombardment was, however, continued, and much injury done the town from the flames. But General Miranda ordered a retreat at night, his artillery being sent before, under the escort of 4000 men, arrived safe at Tongres, the enemy finding it impracticable to overcome this rear-guard. At Tongres, he was forced to retreat to Hans and St. Tron, where he joined General Va'ence, who was compelled to desert Liege.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

THE conduct of the Convention and its ministers was so disgusting to the Commander-in-Chief, that he would no longer carry the horrors of war into foreign states, for the

ke of strengthening power, which appeared to rescue nations from the will of a single despot, to place them under the caprices of a million of tyrants, who would submit to no rule.

The first sound of French liberty had caught the Belgians, and nothing was talked of among them but of being incorporated with France. Republican delight was apt amongst them for some while, by an assurance that they would be relieved from the burdens imposed by the emperor, and that their brothers, the French, were indeed to rescue them from the yoke, out of mere kindness. But the Commissioners of the Convention gave a serious example when they came to Brussels; for they exacted very heavy contributions to pay the expenses of delivering armies. These and other outrages committed in Belgia, Dumourier says, not only took the affections of the people from France, but made it unsafe to quarter an army among them.

The French forces met with a great resistance from the Dutch and English troops, which now arrested their progress, and as the British gun-boats could act in the Helder, Diep, and Bies Bosch, the General retreated, lest he should get between the Hollanders and the incensed Belgians.

Dumourier went to Liege, where the troops received him with every mark of joy, hoping that they would be able to conquests under him equally glorious as Gemappe. The strength and vigour of the French army were not now the same, and the man they so rejoiced to see again, was not the same Dumourier who conquered the Netherlands. On the 15th of March the Austrians resolved to reduce Tirlemont; the French had only 400 men there, they fought with fury before they surrendered, and

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**The French defeated at Neerwinden.**

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the Austrians were the next day obliged to evacuate it, by Dumourier in person, and retreated towards St. Tron. On the 18th an engagement was fought at Neerwinden, which lasted, with increased fury on both sides, from seven in the morning till five in the afternoon, when the French were unable to cope with the enemy any longer, and the Austrian cavalry completely routed them. The Republicans' courage on this occasion is said to have been very great, and the skill they exhibited; but they had to fight with superior numbers of well-disciplined troops. M. Dumourier attributes this day's loss to Miranda, who commanded the left wing, to a blunder of General La Marche, and the jealousy of Valence.

The loss of the French in this battle, Dumourier estimates at 3000 men, with a number of cannon; while he states the loss of the Austrians at 1400. To add to this, the army was farther weakened by the loss of 6000 men who deserted towards Brussels and France.

The Republican army conducted their retreat with a great degree of order and regularity, making it nearly a kind of victory, till they got to Godsenhoven, a league to the southward of Tirlemont. Here they formed in order of battle, but the hostile armies rested all night upon their arms. On the 20th M. Dumourier took possession of the heights of Cumtich, near Tirlemont, and thus gave him a means of carrying off his magazines.

On the 22d Dumourier experienced a severe attack from the enemy at Louvain. The battle was remarkably sanguinary, and a day's fighting terminated in the defeat of the Imperial troops, who lost an immense number of men in killed and wounded. Previous to this action the Republican Commander-in-Chief had sent Colonel Montjoye to the Prince of Cobourg, to negotiate a treaty re-

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Meeting of Dumourier and Colonel Mack.

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specting the wounded and prisoners, of which he thus speaks: "He saw Colonel Mack, an officer of great merit, who remarked to Colonel Montjoye, that it might be advantageous to both parties to agree to a suspension of arms. Dumourier, who had carefully considered the state of his army, sent Montjoye to Colonel Mack on the 22d, to know if he would come to Louvain, and state the same to Dumourier. He came that evening. Some articles were verbally agreed to: First, that neither army should attack the other. Secondly, that the French should retire to Brussels without any opposition. And lastly, that Dumourier and Colonel Mack should meet after the evacuation of Brussels, to settle any articles that might be deemed necessary." Whether it arose from an idea that Dumourier was not to be trusted, or from some other cause, cannot with accuracy be known, but the Imperialists paid no respect to the verbal stipulation, for, under the command of Clairfait, they attacked the advanced guard at Pillenberk, and compelled the French general to quit Louvain. Dumourier, on this defeat, conveyed his wounded, and the flour meant for his troops, in boats to Mechlin; and performed his retreat to Brussels in the night, or he would have repented most bitterly of his late alliance. He spoke in terms not very honourable to the Austrians on this occasion; that, if he had neglected the above precaution, he believed, "that in spite of the stipulation agreed to by Colonel Mack, they would most likely have seized this opportunity to destroy the French army." He continued to regard his promise, and he admits that the Prince of Cobourg observed some regard to it, by continuing at Louvain three days longer, watching the rear-guard of the French only by small detachments at a time. Dumourier marched through Brussels on the

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General Miranda ordered to be arrested.

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25th of March, and the citadel of Antwerp (about 26 miles north of Brussels) was the only place of which he could retain the possession. Here he placed 2000 men, with provisions for six months, in order to keep up a communication with the troops left at Breda and Gertruydenberg. It was his meaning to have formed beyond the frontiers of the Republic, by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, and Breda, to enable him to put his army in a more commanding situation; but he says that the evacuation of Namur having broken this line, he was completely disconcerted in his plan.

On his arrival at Ath, he received an order from the Convention to arrest General Miranda and the Colonel of the 73d regiment of infantry; but, though he complained of Miranda, he knew the violent temper of the present legislators too well to execute such orders. Colonel Mack arrived at Ath on the same day, and another conference occurred, the result of which was, "That the French army should still remain in the possession of Mons, Tournay, and Courtray, and not be harassed by the Imperial army; that General Dumourier, who stated to Colonel Mack his view of marching against Paris, should, when they were ready, regulate the Imperialists, who were to be as auxiliaries in their plan; that should Dumourier want no assistance, an event greatly to be desired, the Imperialists should advance no farther than the frontiers of France, and the evacuation of Belgium should repay this condescension: but if Dumourier was unable to effect a limited monarchy (not a counter-revolution,) he should state the number of troops which the Imperialists must furnish in aid of the plan, and those to be entirely under Dumourier's direction.

If he was thus unequivocal in the declaration of his

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Dumourier explains his Sentiments.

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intentions to Colonel Mack, he was full as plain to the three commissioners from Paris, who came to ascertain his views concerning the ruling government of France, though their real reason was to converse with him about the affairs of the Netherlands. When the deputies arrived at Tournay he was in company with Madame Sillery, young Egalité, General Valencé, and others. It was reasonable to suppose that the meeting between him and the Commissioners would not be carried on with much moderation, chiefly so, as the General was resolved to conceal his designs no longer. He exclaimed bitterly against the cruelty and bad policy of the Jacobins, considering them the cause of all the misfortunes which came upon the country. He exclaimed, "They will ruin France, but though they call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk, I will try to save it." The Commissioners did not think it prudent to prolong the altercation, but the next day they returned, fully intent on discovering, if possible, how far he meant to push the matter, and what kind of government he wished in France, but they found it proper to disguise their sentiments.

The most candid declaration of his own sentiments, and what he meant to do for the salvation of France, was made by Dumourier. He very plainly called the members of the Convention a horde of ruffians, whom he thought of with the greatest abhorrence; the volunteers of Paris he called poltroons, and predicted that their efforts would be finally ineffectual. "As for the rest," he continued, "there yet is a party. If the Queen and her family are threatened, I will march to Paris—it is my fixed resolution—and the Convention shall not exist three weeks longer." On being questioned as to the

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The Convention order Dumourier to be superseded.

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means he would employ, he gave them to know that he was the steady advocate of a limited monarchy ; and that he would certainly be in Paris in three weeks ; for his having succeeded so well in such a villainous cause, had made him uneasy ever since the celebrated battle of Gemappe.

On the return of the Commissioners to Paris, they stated their conversation, and the Convention ordered Dumourier to be superseded in the chief command by M. Bournonville, who went with four Commissioners appointed to arrest him. The Commissioners did not go directly to the camp, but they forwarded a message to M. Dumourier, to meet them at Lisle, and answer those charges which had been preferred against him. Without appearing to have any suspicions of danger, he replied, that the situation of the army was such, it required his presence and attention ; as the troops in Antwerp had deserted the place, and he had been compelled to order the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenberg to capitulate, on the condition that they were to return back to France ; he, himself, in order to occupy the camp of Maulde, having raised that of Tournay. At the same time he ordered General Miaczinski, who commanded at Orchies, to march to Lisle, and arrest the Commissioners sent to apprehend him. Miaczinski incautiously disclosed the object of his mission, which he prudently should have concealed, as it was evidently a dangerous measure. The consequence was, that as he entered Lisle the gates were shut behind him, he was arrested, conveyed to Paris, condemned and executed, by that sanguinary tribunal, the National Convention. Dumourier was baffled in his efforts to gain possession of Conde and Valenciennes, by the two Generals Ferrand and Ecuyer, both strong in the Republican interest, though they owed their elevation in



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He seizes the four Commissioners Prisoners.

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the army entirely to General Dumourier. "Ferrand," says the General, "was at that age when he could not well have been suspected of fanaticism; he had exclaimed violently against anarchy and jacobin principles in times past, but he lost his opinions and his gratitude together.

It was a bold attempt to arrest a general of Dumourier's extraordinary talents at the head of his army, as the Commissioners had no reason to believe that his army was disaffected to him. On the 1st of April they went to M. Dumourier's head-quarters at St. Amand, and, on being introduced to the General, they candidly unfolded the object of their mission. After a conversation of some hours, Dumourier found it impossible to gain them to his plans, or convince them of the wickedness of the Jacobins; he gave a signal to some soldiers who took them into custody, and requested General Clairfait to confine them at Tournay, his then head-quarters, that their lives might be answerable for any injury done to the persons of the Royal Family of France.

On the evening of the 2nd of April he published an address, and on the 3rd repaired to the camp to explain its contents to the soldiers, and they approved his designs. Next day he set out for Condé, leaving the care of St. Amand to General Thouvenot; but on the way he received the most humiliating intelligence, by an officer, from his confidential friend General Neuilly, that the soldiers were nearly in a state of open rebellion, and that he would not advise him to proceed, as his life might be in danger. On the road he passed a body of volunteers going the same way that he was, but they offered him no molestation. He had scarcely received the message of his friend from the officer, when a detachment of the volunteers, having quitted the high way, and running towards him with

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Dumourier quits the Republican Service.

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threatening countenances, shouted, "Stop! stop!" There was no time to deliberate, in the midst of the greatest danger; he mounted a horse belonging to a servant of General Egalité (then Duke de Chartres), and with the greatest difficulty escaped, the whole body having fired upon him at once.

The General proceeded by the Scheldt to the territory of the Imperialists; where he held a conversation with Colonel Mack, and passed the night in preparing the proclamation of the Prince of Cobourg, which was issued the 5th of the month, accompanied by one of his own. The General placed great reliance on his influence with the troops, for at this meeting it was agreed that when M. Dumourier got Condé, it was to be given over to the Austrians to be used as a magazine, should the French Commander-in-Chief feel it necessary to apply for assistance to the Imperialists. Dumourier's manifesto recapitulated the services he had done to his country; and he related the unpardonable neglect of his army during the former winter by the War Minister. He omitted not the barbarous conduct of the Jacobins towards the best officers of the Republic, and especially towards himself. He detailed the reasons by which he was governed in arresting the Commissioners, and insisted that necessity called for this step; and gave a most accurate description of the evils which would inevitably come upon France, unless they established a rational constitution. He closed this paper by exhorting the people of France to restore the constitution of 1789—90, and—91, which they had sworn to maintain; solemnly protesting he appeared in arms for no other purpose, which being done, he would resign all public employment, and enjoy in retirement

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Other Generals follow him.

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the pleasing thought, that he had given happiness to his fellow-citizens.

Besides the Generals Valencé, Egalité, and Thouvenot, Colonels Thouvenot and Mountjoye, and Madame de Sillery, who quitted the Republic with M. Dumourier, he was followed by a regiment of dragoons, and the principal part of the hussars of Berchiny; but the chief part of the army were soon taught to look on him as a traitor, and submitted to General Dampierre, who succeeded him in the command.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

DUMOURIER'S loss was not the principal embarrassment the Republic met with. The people in many of the Western and Southern departments of France, arose in open rebellion against the tyranny of the Convention. The disorganizing spirit of the Jacobins was such, that they paid no regard to the prejudices or the delicacy of the people; but, under the name of fanaticism, they persecuted every thing that was decent and regular. The zealots in religion were shocked by frequent processions of lewd women, heathenishly attired as goddesses, ready to receive the devotions of their licentious worshippers. The friends of virtue were outraged in every relation by the members of the legislature, who, both by their prac-

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*La Vendee opposes the Republic.*

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tices and laws, gave every facility to dissolutions of the marriage contract; and the lovers of order were chagrined at the increasing practices of casual cohabitation and irregular intercourse. Novelty seemed to be the ruling principle of the government, and the guillotine the only argument it condescended to use for the conviction of the people. Resistance to such a system became a sacred obligation, and the persecuted priests took advantage of the public feelings, to arm their flocks, in various parts of the country, into powerful armies against the Convention.

La Vendee was the first department that opposed the Republic, and there the Royalists collected in great numbers; but they acted more under the impulse of passion than from any regular plan. A few troops were sent against them, and they were dispersed; although it was known that sixty out of the eighty-four departments were highly disaffected. The Royalists are not to blame on this account, if it be true, that the courage of the just is less than the desperation of the unjust: for they were panic-struck with the unheard-of cruelties of the Jacobins.

It was reported to the Convention, that 800 of these counter-revolutionist prisoners were taken on the left bank of the Loire, and that all immediately were massacred in cold blood. This was looked on perfectly regular, for the Convention meant every Royalist found with arms to be shot; and if without them to be guillotined. A system of terror was established, and a man was fearful lest his own thoughts should escape him; and the Convention established a praying inquisition, called the Revolutionary Tribunal; by which they often executed persons whose thoughts were detected by the awkward means they took to conceal them.

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The Bourbon Family ordered under Arrest—Congress held at Antwerp.

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The Convention decreed, that all the Bourbon family should be detained as hostages for safety of the commissioners, not excepting the *ci-devant* Duke of Orleans. This Prince, the first of the blood-royal of France, and the richest subject in Europe, debased himself to the lowest whim of the multitude, and when they used the universal cry of "liberty and equality," he applied for leave to change his princely style, and to be called Philippe Egalité. By his arts and his money he had acquired great popularity and a seat in the Convention; but when it was discovered that he had bent thus low with the base desire of lengthening out a shameful life, and with a view to place the crown on his own head, they determined to put him aside; and the first decree was shortly followed up by that which ordered all the Bourbon family under arrest.

As the Convention was taking the most adequate measures for recovering what it had lost, the Combined Powers were collecting all their folly, with a design (if it can be said they acted with any design) to lose what advantage they had gained. Generals Neuilly, Dumas, Berncron, and several other officers and soldiers, joined Dumourier, where they united with the Austrians, and proclaimed the son of Louis King, by the title of Louis XVII. and thus explained their views to satisfy those who might wish to join them. A Congress took place at Antwerp, of the coalesced Princes, which was attended by the Prince of Orange, the Duke of York, Prince Cobourg, Lord Auckland, the Spanish, Prussian, Neapolitan, and other ministers, from their several courts; and this Congress was so flushed with their nominal conquests, that they obliged Prince Cobourg to recal his proclamation of the 5th; and broke their faith with the French

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General Dampierre killed.

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General, from too great a confidence in their own power. The moderate men in France now saw no alternative, but submission to the reigning government, or to the ancient and hateful despotism; the former must correct itself in time; the latter they knew would become worse, and they left the Combined Powers to follow their own plans, and joined with the Convention to defend the country. General Dumourier and the officers with him withdrew into retirement, and most of the soldiers found means to return to France.

The Austrian General stated that the armistice was at an end; and large bodies of English, Hanoverian, and Prussian troops having arrived, it was fixed on to attack the French frontiers in ten different points at once, and advantages were gained in the time that was employed in re-organizing the French armies.

General Wurmser was appointed to the siege of Landau, and Prince Cobourg invested Condé; but the views of the Allies were chiefly devoted to Valenciennes, where the French General Dampierre was anxious to find protection for a camp he was about to form. The Duke of York, with the British and Hanoverian troops, took the direction at this important post, which was carried on with much credit to the British arms; as, after a long contest, the enemy was compelled to give up his camp, and leave both Condé and Valenciennes to the besiegers.

General Dampierre was killed in one of those actions; and his death was a great loss to the French, as most of their best generals were either under arrest, or driven from the army on groundless suspicions and accusations, yet the soldiers defended their garrisons with superior bravery.

General Custine had been much dissatisfied with the

conduct of the soldiers, and took up a great deal of time in restoring discipline in his army, without much effect. He was obliged to remain on the defensive; but, assisted by General Houſhard and a few other able officers, he defended this frontier from the advance of the enemy. He had been forced to use some severe examples of military execution in his camp; yet, after attempting to surprise the Prussians at Sembach, he stated to the Convention, that he could have no success with such troops. "Our artillery," said he, "did wonders, and the battle was in our favour; but as our infantry was forming, our cavalry rode up towards them, and a battalion of our troops taking them for the enemy, they ran away. I did all I could to stop them, but in vain, and as they run off they fired at our troops and behaved like cowards."

The Combined Powers do not appear to have used any efforts to make any of the factions overthrow the rest; and it does not appear that any of them sought to secure itself by the help of the Combined Powers; yet they failed not to accuse each other with as much keenness as if they were certain of each others guilt.

The struggle between them began upon a discussion in the Convention relative to handing General Miranda over to the Revolutionary Tribunal, which the Brissotines were bent on preventing by denouncing Marat himself. He was charged with inciting the people to massacre; to which he only replied by a declaration of his Republican principles and his love for the people, of whose attachment he protested that he would soon satisfy the Convention; and, accordingly, a most tremendous uproar took place in the galleries, which hindered any further discussion. As soon as the debate could be resumed, his arrest was decreed. Thus far the Brissotines

were triumphant, but the decree against General Miranda passed also. The next day Petion moved for the repeal of latter decree; "Miranda," he said, "was sacrificed by Dumourier, only for having the courage to denounce him four days before his treachery was revealed." This opinion would have been supported by the Maratists, if their accusations had had any other foundation than mere caprice; but they had thrown embarrassments and discord in the way of both Dumourier and Miranda from the same motives, and therefore declaimed against shewing lenity to conspirators. The galleries, at the same time, applauded their sanguinary doctrines, and hooted those members who spoke in favour of Petion's motion. The debate could not proceed until the military had cleared the hall, when Petion's motion was lost by the order of the day.

Afterwards a greater triumph was gained by the Jacobins, upon the acquittal of Marat on the charges of exciting to murder and carnage, and joining to dissolve the Convention. The hall was attacked on the 24th of April, by a mixed assemblage of those petitioners who had been headed by Petion, Santerre, &c. who asked permission to file through the Assembly, to shew their joy at the acquittal of the "Friend of the People." Leave being given, the visitors took possession of the vacant seats, and a general shout of, "Long live the Nation! long live Marat!" welcomed him to his place, where he was conducted by a large body of municipal officers and gens-d'armes.

The public mind being strongly agitated by vague reports of dangers and conspiracies, which nobody could trace, but which every body was sure would complete the ruin of every family in France; an alarm was given, at four



o'clock in the morning of the 31st of May, by the firing of guns, and the sounding of the tocsin. This was the common signal of insurrection and alarm; and it always threw the city into the greatest confusion. Those only in the secret knew the dangers to be apprehended, or how they were to approach or be avoided. The Convention would be the rallying point in this case, as the palace had formerly been; and, if the opposition should not be sufficiently powerful, a few inflammatory speeches from the faction might arouse their partisans to rush upon the victims and massacre them out of hand; in which event, the ceremony of false accusation would be spared, and the risk of acquittal avoided. Such was the plan of Marat, but it failed; for there were at Paris a number of armed volunteers from the departments which the Brissotines represented, who mixed amongst the crowd, and by their presence deterred the cowardly Parisians from proceeding to their usual acts of outrage. In the Convention the greatest uproar prevailed; and the only fact that could be clearly understood, was, that the administration and the police were divided, and that each party suspended the other, and disputed its orders whenever it got the majority; and every spectator saw, that whichever should muster strongest would charge the other with the conspiracy. Marat demanded a decree of accusation against the Brissotines, as accomplices of Duraourier, though nothing could be worse laid. The mob would not define their charge so nicely, they would give no reason for demanding their heads but having "incurred their displeasure." Deputations were sent to pacify the people, and prevail on them to let the Convention go on with its deliberations. It was impossible to get a hearing; the members were insulted, and no

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Parties formed in France.

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answer could be had but the cry of "Aconse them! accuse them!" At last, worn by fatigue and despair, the weak men joined the bad, and a decree was passed, to put twenty-four of the representatives and ministers over to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Three of them, however, had been included in the number, because they had said something to offend Legendre the butcher; and Marat interceded to have them dismissed, which reduced the whole to twenty-one.

Every one now saw that the very shadow of liberty had flown; and that if the majority of the Convention had the means of stilling the voice of the minority, the system of representation was at an end: and many thousands resolved to resist the usurpation of the oligarchy; and powerful parties were formed in various parts of France, in order to assist the proscribed deputies in restoring the Republic.

Experience had not been so advantageous to those deputies as might have been expected; notwithstanding the intrigues to which they had frequently resorted, whenever they had been determined to gain the point over the Royalists, they had no conception of seeing the same arts practised against themselves; and therefore many of them weakly imagined that they should be perfectly secure in their own innocence. Royalists they were not, and traitors they were not; this they could easily prove, whether they appeared before the Revolutionary Tribunal or before their constituents in their several departments; and thus some chose to throw themselves upon their trial, and others into the arms of their friends.

Having thus set them upon a defence which should oblige them to avoid all connection with the Royalists, the Jacobins appointed commissaries in every place, to

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Several Departments declare against the Convention.

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charge them with a new and undefined crime, called Federalism; the guilt of which they could magnify in proportion as the people were ignorant of its nature.

Petion, Gaudet, Gorsas, and many others, travelled into the western departments in disguise, and they discovered, that, though they were generally acquitted of royalism, great prejudices were held against them as federalists. They saw, for the first time, the extent of their delusion.

About twenty of them arrived at Caen, in Calvados, where they found the brave defender of Thionville (General Wimpfen), at the head of 2000 men, in the centre of eight departments which had declared against the Convention. Those who had overthrown the Bastille on the 14th of July, and the palace on the 10th of August, were seeking a shelter from the scaffold, and they found themselves in the midst of an empire: here Gorsas found courage without the aid of his eloquence, and Petion found soldiers without the aid of intrigue: here were senators drawn from the seat of legislation; and here was a people in want of a government! Circumstances were made for them; they were not called upon for any extraordinary effort; the only thing required of them was, to have followed their good fortune without going out of the ordinary course. A declaration of their union, and a protest against the proceedings of the Convention, would have brought all the western departments under their banners; and the possession of Evreux, which General Wimpfen would have secured with 10,000 troops, would have assisted them to have cut off the supplies from Paris, and shut it from the coast. They might then have triumphed over the Convention, and saved their country

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The People threaten to march against Paris.

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from what they looked on as the greatest of evils; but their political bigotry would not permit this. They suspected that both General Wimpfen and his partisans were Royalists, and they could not fight for justice in company with Royalists, without sharing it with them when it was obtained;—an idea as shocking to a Republican, as it would be for a Christian to admit an unbeliever into the same heaven with himself.

This caution forced the Deputies to undertake another journey, in hopes of raising an army all of their own opinions; but they were so long in reaching Bourdeaux, that troops were sent before them, and the people were dispersed for want of leaders: nothing was left but projects of escape, and these generally failed; except Louvet (who was probably the least guilty amongst them) they all fell into the hands of the Jacobins, or perished of hunger in their hiding-places.

The people arose in some parts in very great numbers; and, in many instances, were able to send deputies to the Convention in defiance of its armed force, threatening to march against Paris unless their representatives were liberated. Angers, Bourdeaux, Lyons, Rochfort, Nantes, Caen, Marseilles, Toulon, St. Malo, and all the surrounding districts, were ready to proclaim Louis XVII. and the Constitution of 1789, as soon as a standard could have been erected for them in a central point; but the Princes did not appear, and the Combined Powers neglected them; so that the Convention, by the fear of its police and the power of its army, prevented any regular correspondence being kept up between them.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

THE different powers had three plans for the march to Paris; one was to direct the principal operations against the departments of the North and of Calais; the second, to force their way by the Seine, and the rivers contiguous to it; by which it would be easy to convey all the stores and heavy artillery; and the third was, to take advantage of the confusion into which the surrender of Valenciennes, &c. had thrown the Republic, which had led to the execution of a number of generals and officers, and to proceed with a very strong force from thence towards the capital. In either case, Spain was to penetrate on the side of the Pyrenees, and Prussia on that of the Rhine. The first proposition was adopted; and the Austrians were to reduce Cambray, while the Duke of York besieged Dunkirk; this gave the Convention all the advantage it required, which was time to place all the resources of the Republic in the management of undoubted Jacobins.

The Commissioners with the army could discover the talents and principles of the officers, and they did not scruple to raise a subaltern to a command, at the expense of his superior officer, if they saw the least preference. General Custine, who undertook the unpopular task of reforming the vices of his army, was so much disliked, that he would not attack the Combined Armies, so long as they were satisfied to waste their time in battering

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Custine guillotined—The Duke of York arrives before Dunkirk.

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down fortresses. He was aware the time which they lost would be of the greatest advantage to him in exercising the hordes of recruits which hourly arrived from the departments; and that a few weeks would enable him to recover all that was lost by the retreat of Dumourier. The reasonings of the Commissioners were not so; they fancied that in a short time the Combined Powers would recover their senses, and the lives of forty or fifty thousand undisciplined soldiers were nothing; they would put twice that number in training to supply their places; and if the general would not attack the enemy's works with the army he had got, they would appoint some general that would. His objections were of no avail, and only tended to prove that he was an Aristocrat, by his attachment to an old system, and they had him arrested on the charge of aiding the enemy by his manoeuvres and delays: no regard was had to his former services and victories. Without delay, General Houchard was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and Custine was guillotined as a traitor.

The Duke of York got before Dunkirk on the 25th of August. The naval force, which was to have acted with his Royal Highness, did not arrive in time; and the French collected troops from the armies of the Rhine and Moselle before the British were ready to begin the attack. On the 7th of September, therefore, General Houchard sallied from the garrison, and, supported by his gun-boats, totally routed the besieging army, and took the principal part of the artillery and stores.

Most of the powers were now disheartened at their ill-success; and as it was thought that England was loudest in forming the arrangements, they looked on her to pay a great share of their expenses, as a reward for their fur-

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*Sanguinary Steps of the Convention.*

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ther co-operation. England, on the other hand, was more earnest in the contest, as she was driven further from the object; for, as the war was undertaken by her Ministers, they would have made any sacrifice sooner than acknowledge a defeat. Some naval advantages were obtained, and arrangements were making, by which the French Colonies in the East and West Indies were to be placed in the hands of Great Britain by their commanders; this induced the Ministry to subsidize most of the powers of Europe; and thus it was resolved to try the event of another campaign.

Scarcely a town or village of France escaped the horrors of military execution. Aristocrats, Royalists, Priests, or Federalists, were thought to be concealed all over the country, and the most sanguinary decrees were voted by the Convention against these wretched persons, and those who assisted them. Children were hurried to execution for striving to save their parents from the scaffold; and wives for doing acts of kindness to their husbands under sentence. Passengers could not travel without their passports were witnessed at every turnpike; nor could any inhabitant retire to rest till he had given the police a list of every one under his roof. Every means were contrived to afford an excuse for destroying the people, as if the Convention had consisted of monsters, who only took pleasure in shedding of blood; yet was the example of Brutus, and that more recent one of their own heroic countryman, Paris, lost upon these pusillanimous Frenchmen; and it was left to a young female to inflict justice upon the leader of these wretches.

Charlotte Cordé, from Caen, in the department of Calvados, formed the design of ridding her country from the rule of Marat, whom she looked on as the greatest

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Charlotte Cordé murders Marat.

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monster upon earth, although she was certain that her life would answer for the undertaking. Eager to execute her designs, she wrote to him on the 12th of July, stating that she had business of the last importance to communicate, on which the safety of the country depended. Having received no answer to this request, she applied a second time thus: "Have you received my letter? if you have received it, I rest on your politeness. It is enough that I am unfortunate to claim your attention." On the 13th, in the evening, she was admitted, and the conversation turned on the alarming state of Caen, and the views of the Deputies who had there taken shelter. Marat remarked that the traitors should soon be apprehended, and pay for their rebellion with their heads upon a scaffold. This speech fired the heroic Charlotte with ungovernable rage; and, finding a propitious moment to accomplish her designs, she plunged a dagger to his heart. The commission of this deed gave her no fear; she left the house perfectly tranquil; and on being told, when arrested, that she would inevitably be put to death, her conduct shewed the most sovereign contempt.

She was tried on the same day before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and the firmness of her answers and the courage of her conduct created general admiration. She looked on the host of her judges with that contempt that shewed what little justice she thought was to be obtained from them. "Where was the necessity of bringing me before you?" said she; "I thought I should be given up to the rage of the Parisians, and be torn to pieces by them; I hoped that my head, stuck at the top of a pike, would have preceded Marat on his state bed, to be a rallying point to Frenchmen, if there are still any worthy of being called so; but if I am not to be so honoured,



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The Queen removed from the Temple.

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my memory will soon be honoured by all France." Sentence of death was instantly pronounced, and she was guillotined the same day.

The virtue of this one damsel was of more use to the cause of mankind, than all who raised their puny strength against that infamous Convention. She inspired her countrymen with that resentment which, as it will be seen, fulfilled her own prophecy. Her fate was hardly pronounced, when a young man, filled with delight at her courage, entreated the judges to accept him for her, and to be guillotined instead of her. His prayer they would not grant, but they sent him to the guillotine along with her. A member of the Convention (Adam Lax), penetrated equally, hastily wrote an oration in honour of the action, wherein he proposed to erect a statue to her, inscribed, Greater than Brutus. His head also they cut off.

Out of about 37,000 victims secured in the different prisons of the Republic, they for some time overlooked the Queen and her children. The spokesman of the Committee, Barrere, the greatest coward in all France, the most complete poltroon in all Europe, now asked the Convention to make the proper arrangements for sending her Majesty to the guillotine in the most degrading manner that could be invented. Accordingly, at 12 o'clock at night, on the 1st of August, two officers went to the Temple, in a hackney coach, to remove her from that place to the common prison. The removal was marked with systematical cruelty. She was not allowed the least notice, but was obliged to get out of bed, and deliver up every thing she had to the officers, which was only 25 louis and her pocket-book. They allowed her to bid farewell to her sister Elizabeth and her daugh-





MARIA ANTOINETTE  
*(Late Queen of France)*

London: Sold by H. Walpole, 77, Pall Mall; and by the Author, at the Theatre, & the Strand; & by the Author, at the Theatre, & the Strand.

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The Queen brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal—Her death.

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ter, but refused her seeing her son, alledging as a reason, that "he was innocent, and would not suffer;" clearly telling her that both the Princess Elizabeth and the Princess Royal would follow her to the guillotine.

When she was two months at the Conciergerie, in a cell eight feet square, half under ground, with nothing but a bag filled with straw to sleep upon, and a soup diet; the innocent, the generous, the dignified, the persecuted, Maria Antoinette, Queen of France, daughter of Maria Theresa, and sister of the Emperor Joseph, was taken before the Revolutionary Tribunal, to hear its predetermined sentence. It would be a jest to talk of a trial, for no such thing took place in France for two years from the 10th of August 1792. The sentence of the Queen, and of every other person that was passed in that period, whether of acquittal or condemnation, was determined by those infamous judges before they came into court, without any regard to the evidence, whatever it might be.

The death of this Princess happened amidst the shouts of the Parisians, and all the courage and gallantry of the great nation was collected to overwhelm and insult a feeble, defenceless woman! Three people were discovered dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood; they were immediately arrested;—what became of them is unknown, they were never liberated, but they were never executed, at least not publicly.

Barrere proposed to the Convention a decree for obliging every person to deliver in a true statement of his whole property, and how it had been acquired; "in order that the Committee of Public Safety might raise a loan without oppressing the poor." The amount of this

loan was only twelve millions; but, though the wise Committee laid it so low, the wary members of the Convention saw its consequences so clearly, that they wished the reporter would re-consider his motion before he pressed it upon the Assembly. In fact there were some delicate feelings, by which part of the leading Jacobins were governed, that the Committee did not reckon on; and, those not being of a kind to admit of explanation, kept them blundering on many occasions, when their measures did not meet with approbation.

The Jacobins consisted of two very different classes of men. One of those classes openly avowed their object, and publicly confessed their determination to wade to it, even though it was through seas of blood. To this class belonged Marat, Barrere, Robespierre, Danton, Carnot, Billaud Vareennes, Collet Herbois, and all the members of the Committee. The distinction between this class and the Republicans was, that the latter would not accomplish its object, by bloodshed, till they had passed laws which would cover their injustice and sanctify their guilt; whereas this first class of Jacobins wanted no cloak at all, and looked on the law as an unnecessary obstacle. The second class were quite cordial with the first in their resolutions to accomplish their object, whatever it might require. Of this class was Santerre, Tallien, Legendre, Lecointre, the Hebertists, and a great part of the Convention, who had given way to many expensive habits, which they could not continue, if they were not allowed "to profit by the reign of liberty," and this would be impossible, if the inquiry proposed by the Committee were to be set on foot.

A word to Barrere to re-consider his motion, was all

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Sir Charles Grey reinforces the Duke of York.

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that could be done upon the subject; and if the Committee were too dull to take the hint;—why, then, said Tallien, “patience.” No other part of the plan was objected to; and it was decreed, that all single men and widowers, of the age of 18 to 25, should march to the armies, and men of all ages put in requisition: that married men should forge arms and transport provisions; the women make tents and clothes, attend the hospitals, and make lint of old linen; and the old men should require themselves to be taken to the public squares, to excite courage in the warriors, to preach hatred of kings, and the unity of the Republic: that the national buildings should be turned into store-houses; the ground of the cellars be washed with ley, to extract saltpetre; that all horses, carriages, muskets, fowling-pieces, and arms of every kind, should be given up for the use of the Republic: that all the plate of the churches should be coined for the national treasury, and all the bells cast into cannon; and that the members named to enforce these decrees should be invested with unlimited authority.

A reinforcement was sent to the Duke of York, under Sir Charles Grey, which enabled the Allies to make a stand in Flanders longer than the French expected, and they thought it proper to strike terror into the army, and to urge it to the most desperate exertions by a new example of severity. Barrere, therefore, moved for leave to have General Houchard guillotined; “because,” said he, “he is exposed to strong suspicions; first, that “when he defeated the English, he did not drive them “into the sea; secondly, that when he surrounded the “Dutch he did not cut them to pieces; thirdly, that he “sent no aid to the troops at Cambray; and, fourthly,

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Gen. Houchard—the Duke of Orleans & twenty-one Brissotines guillotined.

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“that when he retreated from Menin, he exposed his rear to great danger.” It need hardly be added that Houchard was guillotined. Marshal Luckner followed him soon after, as also Madame Roland, because she refused to tell the place of her husband’s concealment; then Philippe Egalité, Duke of Orleans, and twenty-one of the Brissotines. This number being completed, although Petion, Roland, and many others, were yet at large, still it was imagined the Convention was not properly purified, and fifty-four more of the members were arrested, who were guillotined whenever the Committee found those executions answer its purposes.

Looking on England as the principal in the war, the Committee of Public Safety adopted such a conduct towards it as should irritate it beyond measure. Barrere occasionally made pompous speeches for the purpose of denouncing the English government. Billaud Varennes thought the worst thing that could be done, was to talk of a descent upon England, and to insult both the government and people by bad language. “We must attack Rome in Rome itself,” said he; let the fate of Carthage be the fate of England, and let her proud capital be levelled to the dust!” and, soon afterwards, a measure of great malice, not against the government but the people, was adopted; all English goods and manufactures were strictly forbidden throughout France, which it was vainly supposed would turn all the manufacturers of Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, and Glasgow into beggars, and thus ruin the country. The British navy, however, was so successful, and opened such channels of commerce, that this stupid decree was scarcely felt; and the trade of England increased so much, that more merchants and others made fortunes in England between the

years 1796 and 1800, than ever were made in any age or country in the same space of time.

The Convention was daily hearing of some new disaster happening to the trade and commerce of France, until it was nearly ruined. Decrees were passed for giving liberty to the slaves ; and they were not only freed from their iniquitous slavery, but their rude minds had imbibed, in about two years, as many raw notions about liberty and equality as it would take a century to digest. The poor beings were not merely informed that their masters were tyrants and oppressors, but they were left without a guide, as to the moral obligations laid on them by their new condition ; and as it never struck them, that in recovering their rights, they were bound to perform duties, they thought freedom from service meant freedom from labour ; and by literally constructing the doctrines they had been taught, they hoped to share land as well as liberty with their masters. Idleness and want soon spread among all the black tribes in the West Indies ; and they began to pillage the whites, which being resisted, many shocking slaughters took place ; the repetition of which, the constituted authorities were unable to prevent. Various applications were made to the mother country by the planters, but the Commissioners appointed by Government, were as wild in their notions of liberty as the legislators themselves, so that the planters saw no chance of a proper system being settled ; and, at last, the Convention found that the Colonies had invited the English to take possession of them.



## CHAPTER XIX.

By an agreement entered into between certain Commissioners from Toulon and Marseilles on behalf of their fellow citizens, and Lord Hood on behalf of Great Britain, it was agreed that they should be given up by the inhabitants to the English, to be kept until peace should take place; and in case of the Monarchy being restored, then to be returned to France.

The fulfilling of those conditions as to Marseilles, was prevented by the Republican General Carteau taking possession of it before the British troops arrived. Toulon fell into the power of Lord Hood; and in that distant region the British government began a co-operation with the Royalists, which almost exhausted the hopes of that patriotic body, and was the cause of fixing the destiny of France, by displaying the skill, and bringing into public notice that extraordinary genius, which at every moment since that period has influenced the Hero of these pages.

After a resistance from the French fleet in the harbour of Toulon, which was caused by a difference between Admirals Trogoff and St. Julien, its commanders, part of the English troops were landed; but they had scarcely got possession of the place, and the fleet, when Barras and Freon, the two National Commissioners at Marseilles, made immense exertions to regain Toulon. The Convention eagerly assisted, by sending immense sums

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The English possess Toulon.

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to the Southern Departments; to raise and equip a number of new battalions.

The French and English troops had some skirmishes, which ended in the French getting one of the advanced posts, and obliging the Coalesced Forces to shelter themselves within the forts that protected the place. The English raised works on all the heights, and supplied them with the cannon of the lower decks of the French line of battle ships, and reinforcements of Spanish, Sardinian, and Sicilian troops arrived to the succour of the garrison.

Darras, and Freon, Commissioners from the Convention, collected all the young men in requisition; they had an immense quantity of artillery, and 25,000 troops were ordered from Lyons. Each army was busy in attacking and defending detached posts; and the heights of La Grasse were defended by heavy cannon, dragged up a very difficult ascent with great labour and wonderful dispatch.

On the 30th of September the French attacked Fort Faron and succeeded. Of such consequence was this post, which was abandoned by the Spanish garrison, that it was even then calculated to render the possession of Toulon precarious. A council immediately assembled, and it was determined to re-possess the redoubt. A severe engagement was fought, and the French at length abandoned Faron; not more than a fourth of their number returned to head-quarters; for those who escaped the bullet or bayonet, were killed in escaping over the precipices in their flight. The English afterwards destroyed two new batteries which were likely to annoy the fleet; but so great was the ardour of the French, that a detachment under General Lapoype stormed the heights of Cape

**Brun.** The success of this event, gained by superiority of numbers, rendered the fate of the garrison daily more doubtful.

A reinforcement arrived from Gibraltar, under the command of Lieutenant General O'Hara, who had been made Governor of Toulon; and afterwards, by a commission under the great seal of England, he, and Lord Hood, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, were appointed Commissioners Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty. Dugommier was Commander in Chief of the French army: he had distinguished himself by his victories over the forces of the King of Sardinia, and the soldiers were much attached to him. The Deputies furnished cannon, ammunition, and provisions in abundance; whatever the besiegers wanted, was had by instant requisitions; and the deeds of the Republican troops were witnessed and rewarded by the representatives of the people. Large bodies of troops arrived from Lyons, and invested the city with cheering hopes of success.

An immense body of artillery was opposed to the great naval arsenal of the South. The conquest or surrender of this arsenal it was resolved, should be made at any rate. The magnitude of the service required it should be entrusted to an engineer worthy of the occasion; and the Deputies deliberated cautiously before they nominated a person to the situation.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, who had re-entered the corps of artillery, and served as a lieutenant, was recommended by his countryman Salicetti, the Deputy from Corsica, and one of the National Commissioners with the army at Toulon, to Barras, who promoted him to the rank of General, and gave him the command of the artillery destined to reduce the arsenal. The event warranted the

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General O'Hara taken by the French.

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prudence of the appointment, for Bonaparte contributed, by his military talents, greatly to decide the fate of Toulon and of France.

Napoleon's first operation was decisive of success. Seeing that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the outposts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, he opened a battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the height of Arenes, which annoyed that position amazingly, by an incessant fire of shot and shells. Governor O'Hara seeing the necessity of taking immediate steps for the security of so important a post, determined to destroy the new works, which were termed the Convention Battery, and carry off the artillery.

Having procured some seamen from the fleet, to defend a post, from which he meant to withdraw some British soldiers; at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th of November, a corps of 400 British, 300 Sardinians, 600 Neapolitans, 600 Spaniards, and 400 French, marched from the town, under the command of Sir David Dundas. Although they were obliged to cross the new river on one bridge only, to divide into four columns to march across olive grounds, divided by stone walls, and to ascend a considerable height, cut into wine terraces, they surprised the redoubt; but in place of forming upon and occupying the summit of the hill, agreeable to orders and military prudence, after having done all the objects of the expedition, they eagerly followed the French troops, ascended other distant heights, and at last were compelled to retreat, by the French, who profited by their disorder, and compelled them to give up the advantages they first obtained. General O'Hara, who mounted the battery when the French were dispossessed, and when he

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The French very successful.

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thought the object of the day was obtained, arrived in time to witness the reverse, and to be wounded and made prisoner by the French. His wound, though not dangerous, had bled much, and by this, with the exertions he had used, he was so much weakened that he could not retire many paces with the troops, but desired to be left by two soldiers who were assisting him, and whom he ordered to proceed and save themselves.

The expectations of the besiegers were much raised by this event; they began to make nearer approaches to the town; and by means of their batteries, not only attacked several important posts, but threatened a general assault. The garrison was in an alarming situation; the French army, which was near 40,000 men, was hourly increasing, and commanded by an intrepid and able general; and their batteries were managed under the direction of Bonaparte, who, though a mere youth, displayed the most cool and dauntless courage. The allied troops never exceeded 12,000 rank and file, and were much diminished by disease and death: they were composed of five different nations, from whom a firm co-operation could not, from the difference of their language and other causes, be expected. These had to defend a circumference of fifteen miles, including eight principal and intermediate posts, which alone required 9000 men.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 17th of December, the French opened two new batteries on Fort Mulgrave; and from these and the former ones, kept up a very heavy cannonade, which killed many and destroyed the works. The weather being rainy, they secretly assembled a large body of troops, with which they stormed the works, and entered with fixed bayonets, on the

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Toulon resolved to be evacuated.

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side defended by the Spaniards, on which the British and other troops were obliged to retire towards the shore of Balaquier.

An attack took place on all the posts held by the garrison on the mountain of Faron. They were repulsed, however, on the east side, by about 700 men, commanded by Colonel Jermagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who perished on the occasion; but they penetrated by the back of the mountain, although 1800 feet high, and deemed inaccessible, so as to occupy the side which overlooks Toulon. The English troops behaved themselves with great bravery; while the French, trusting to their numbers, charged with unusual intrepidity and success. The Deputy Arena, who was a Corsican, led one of their columns; and General Cervoni, a subject of the King of Sardinia, greatly distinguished himself. The new General Bonaparte, signalized himself by a promptitude of exertion which marked him as one of the ablest candidates for military glory. It is said, that in the heat of the engagement, Barras found fault with the direction of a gun, which had been pointed under the order of Bonaparte; the young General requested he would attend to his duty as a National Commissioner, "I will do my duty," said he, "according to my own judgment, and be answerable for the consequences with my head." Nothing was capable of inducing him to forego any purpose which he had planned.

A council of flag and general officers was held, who thought it impracticable to regain the posts they had lost; and, as the town was not tenable, while they remained in possession of the enemy, it was determined that Toulon should be evacuated. The troops were

therefore withdrawn, and, in the course of the evening of the 17th of December, the Combined Fleet took up a new station in the outer road. Early next morning the sick and wounded, and the British field artillery, were sent off; the Neapolitans having left their post without orders, embarked at noon; and steps were taken to withdraw the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, amounting to about 7000 men, during the night.

The retreat was to be effected as quick as possible, for the enemy commanded the town by their shot and shells, and also some of the ships. The Allies removed their shipping out of the reach of the shot and shells, with which they were annoyed without intermission, till ten at night of the 19th of December, when the town was set on fire in different places by the Allies, as well as part of the shipping, after which they made a hasty retreat, and the Republicans occupied it next morning at three o'clock. Much property and a number of vessels were left an easy prey to the conquerors, but the inhabitants were in a situation truly deplorable. When they saw that flight was resolved on, they repaired in crowds to the shores, and entreated that protection which the crown of Britain had pledged itself to grant them. Several efforts were made to get thousands of them to the ships, yet it was impossible to avoid leaving multitudes behind to suffer the tortures which would doubtless be made use of on them by their enraged countrymen. Numbers were seen to take away their own lives, thinking that a more easy method of finishing existence than what they had to look for from the Republicans; others threw themselves into the water, making many fruitless attempts to reach the British vessels. The flames spread with wonderful

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Toulon restored to France.

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rapidity, and the ships set on fire were every instant in danger of blowing up, and burying all around them in total destruction.

But if the land shewed so much horror, it was no less dreadful on board the ships. These they filled with groups of every sort, men, women, and children, old and young, and of all nations. They had on board the sick from the hospitals, and the festering wounds of those yet undrest, were dreadfully offensive as well as dangerous. So horrible a sight was perhaps only exceeded by the complaints and cries of multitudes for their husbands, fathers, or children, who had been unavoidably left on shore. No language could do justice to this melancholy scene.

To the miseries already mentioned, there was an almost real famine, as the food on board was not nearly sufficient for such a multitude, and almost unfit for use. Thirty-one ships of the line were found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, nine burnt in the harbour, and one at Leghorn, besides four more which Lord Hood had sent to Brest and Rochefort, with 5000 seamen belonging to France, whom he thought it dangerous to trust to. The French acquired more than one hundred pieces of cannon, four hundred oxen, sheep, and hogs, with great quantities of forage, and every species of provision.

Thus, after a siege of about three months, and an incessant assault for five successive days and nights, Toulon was restored to France. The French had provided 4000 ladders for an assault; but, on the evacuation, they entered it at seven o'clock, on the 19th of December, 1793. Some, who had aided the Allies, remained behind, and perished, either by their own hands or the guillotine. At Toulon, as well as at Marseilles, the most cruel



punishments were inflicted on the Royalists, and the victory was stained by the most terrible and indiscriminate carnage. The population became daily and visibly decreased by the constant slaughter of the people. The principal habitations were destroyed by workmen, invited from the neighbourhood to demolish the town. The name of Toulon was changed for that of Port de la Montagne; and a grand fete was celebrated at Paris in honour of the event, at which the members of the Convention walked in procession.

The genius and talents of Bonaparte were discovered by this siege: it was a stage worthy of his action, and the recollection of his exertions at this important time, was favourable to his future advancement in the armies of the Republic.

A sanguinary conflict took place at Lyons; but the people of this place acted with more caution, for they professed the strongest attachment to the Convention, while they were collecting troops with the greatest activity, to repel any force that might be sent against them, whenever they thought proper to shew their insurgency. The chief people were persons who had got wealth by trade and manufactures, who were desirous to enjoy their property in ease and safety, and cared but little about the triumph of liberty. Many nobles, and a crowd of emigrants and priests were there; and the crimes of those who took on themselves the name of patriots, served to excite in Lyons a powerful insurrection.

Laupel, a constitutional priest, and Chalier, the mayor, gained over the populace by bribes and largesses. The vaults under the town-house were stuffed with prisoners; and the townspeople thought that plunder, captivity, and perhaps death, would be their lot. Their fears were

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- The Mayor put to Death.

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augmented by the disaffected, who said that the Jacobins only waited the arrival of some troops from Kellerman, to commence a slaughter of the Royalists by preventing their escape, and then handing them over to the national axe.

Their fears being thus heightened, caused them to attempt the destruction of those from whom they apprehended such evils. The sections met, under the idea of adopting plans of general safety, and seized on the arsenal. Excesses usual on insurrections, excited by one party wishing to produce desperation in the other, were committed without remorse. The municipality, which was devoted to the Convention, took shelter in the town-house; but, in the night of the 29th of May, they were taken out by the enraged people, and the mayor was deposed and put to death.

Two Commissioners from each of the sections of Marseilles were appointed. All Provence followed the example, and the insurrection became formidable. It was settled that a congress should be held at Bourges, and that two representatives and a battalion from each district should assemble there. The Convention were acquainted with these events, and General Cartaux was sent from the army of Italy, at the very period when two battalions from Marseilles and Aix, destined for Lyons, took possession of Avignon. They however abandoned that place, and the river Durance separated the forces of each party.

Villeneuve-Tourette, formerly a colonel in the regiment of Artois, was appointed General, and being joined by the troops from Toulon, gave Cartaux battle. They at first were successful, but the conventional troops hav-

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**Lyons prepares for Defence.**

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ing been increased, they were triumphant, and the principal cities were reduced to their own resources.

The army of Marseilles, under Villeneuve, occupied the heights. The Marseillaise were not unanimous ; many of the sections stated their wish to accept the new constitution, so suddenly framed by the Jacobins ; and the difference was so violent, that the blood which was spilled offered a prelude to what was expected to ensue.

The Jacobins' hopes were increased by Villeneuve being driven from the heights, which were attacked and carried by General Cartaux. Villeneuve, with 500 of his troops, the municipal officers, and a number of citizens, took shelter in the city of Toulon, and Marseilles surrendered.

Lyons now depended on the strength of its own citizens ; they had sought to escape the storm, by accepting the new constitution. They sent deputies to the Convention, but they were received with strong displeasure, and saved themselves from imprisonment by flight. A message was sent them, that " they must deliver up their new magistrates, if they expected mercy ; the blood of the patriots shed by them demanded vengeance." These offers were rejected, and the inhabitants prepared for an obstinate defence. They were in want, however, of cannon, for Kellerman had got all their ordnance, under the view of supplying the army of Italy. The townsmen were undisciplined ; they were chiefly the fathers of families, who trembled for their wives and children, and their property ; and although an immense body were in arms, not more than 10,000 could be depended on. The Jacobins continued within the walls

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Attacked by the Republican Forces.

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resolute and determined, and the populace was entirely under their command.

Prezy, formerly a colonel in the constitutional guards of the King, was elected General by acclamation. The fortifications were improved, and cannon cast; and such was the general sentiment, that, while the young were in arms, the women and old men worked at the redoubts, and encouraged the warriors.

The army designed for the attack was nearly 10,000 troops of the line, 3000 cavalry, several battalions of national guards levied in the neighbouring departments, 500 artillerymen, and 20 battering guns, besides mortars. The usual plans of a siege were had recourse to; and, besides the arms of the besiegers, their success was assisted by the poorer inhabitants, who not only brought intelligence into the camp of the Republicans, but directed their negotiations by means of signals.

A tremendous shower of bombs and red-hot balls was poured in, and the city was set on fire in forty-two places in a night. It was threatened also by famine; and two columns of armed citizens sallied out to procure corn, one was cut off, except five, who got back into the town, and their leader, Servand, was shot. The resistance was obstinate; Dubois Crance, the deputy, was recalled to account for his conduct. The besiegers had some advantages, but famine being added to the miseries of war, the citizens, after a siege of fifty-five days, in which they shewed the most heroic courage, yielded to an enemy, against whom valour was unavailing.

Collet d'Herbois, Couthon, &c. were the new deputies, and they would not grant any terms till the leaders of the tumult were given up. The chiefs, therefore, both civil and military, many of the principal inhabitants, and

those proscribed by the Jacobins, to the number of 2000 sallied from the city, to seek a home in a foreign land. A few waggons with the remnant of their scanty fortunes, and some four-pounders accompanied the fugitives. Amongst them were a great number of females, resolved to follow their husbands, and, with their children, to share their fate. On entering the defiles of St. Cyr and St. Germain, they were surrounded by near 50,000 men: they performed prodigies of valour; only 500 men and women escaped with life; they were mostly covered with wounds, and were moved from dungeon to dungeon until they suffered by disease and punishment. About sixty, however, succeeded in obtaining an asylum with the neighbouring peasantry.

A fourth part of the city was destroyed by the besiegers. The Commissioners ordered the demolition of the principal buildings. The Convention voted that the city should be destroyed; that this ancient city should not be called by its former name; and that a column should be built upon its ruins, to attest its crimes and its punishments.

The sufferings of the wretched inhabitants were never surpassed. Measures were really taken to transport numbers to another place; and the Deputy Freron, when he entered the town, ordered guillotines to be erected, and announced that "terror was the order of the day." He was surpassed in cruelty by Collet d'Herbois: this ruffian's pro-consulship in the south was one scene of bloodshed. A band of Parisian Jacobins, and a column of the revolutionary army marched in before him. The process of the national axe, did not suit his impatient vengeance; and the bayonets of the infantry, and sometimes the sabres of the cavalry, were used to abate his

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The Calendar altered by the Convention.

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insatiable thirst of carnage. Even these did not answer his horrid purposes with sufficient celerity, and grape-shot, and the fusilades of the troops, daily strewed the great square of the city with the dying and the dead, and flooded the town with the blood of the unhappy inhabitants. .

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## CHAPTER XX.

THE Convention amused themselves with altering the Calendar, dividing the year into twelve months of thirty days each, and conferring on the five intercalary days the epithet of *sans-culottides*, afterwards *complementary days*. Each month was divided into three decades, or periods of ten days, and the tenth was appointed to be a day of rest. They decreed the Republican year to commence on the 23d of September, the anniversary of the Convention entering upon its functions, and began the Republican era from that day, dating all their public acts subsequent to that period

*Year of the French Republic.*

The autumnal months were called,

23 September,	<i>Vendemiaire</i>
23 October,	<i>Brumaire</i>
22 November,	<i>Frimaire</i>

The winter months were called,

22 December,	<i>Nivose</i>
21 January,	<i>Pluviose</i>
20 February,	<i>Ventose</i>

The spring months were called,

22 March,	<i>Germinal</i>
21 April,	<i>Floreal</i>
21 May,	<i>Prarial</i>

The summer months were called,

20 June,	<i>Messidor</i>
20 July,	<i>Thermidor</i>
19 August,	<i>Fructidor.</i>

The days of each decade were called in its order *pri-medi, doudi*, up to *decadi*, and the complementary days were to be kept as national fêtes.

It was enacted, that every priest found in arms against the interest of the Republic should be punished as a traitor; and that all priests under sixty years of age, should be banished to French Guiana, if they had not taken the oaths fixed by the constitution.

On the 7th of November, the Republican bishop of Paris, M. Gobet, his vicars, and some other members of the ecclesiastical body, entered the hall of the Convention, where they made a solemn surrender of their offices, and abjured the christian religion at the same time.

The campaign was not in favour of the Allies, for though the British took fort Jeremie, Cape Nicola Mole, and Pondicherry, with all the settlements of the French on the coast of Coromandel; yet the Republicans in Europe were more successful, and as they had the for-

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**The Republicans defeat General Wurmser.**

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midable lines at Weissemburg and on the Lauter, faint hopes of success were held by the Austrians of taking Landau. General Wurmser levelled all his strength against these, and on the 13th was permitted to penetrate them. The town of Weissemburg made a more resolute opposition than Lauterburg had done, and it did not capitulate till the end of October, which cost the Austrians about 800 men. This victory made the enemy push on to Strasburgh, where the Republicans were again beaten on the 25th, when the Austrian General made himself master of Wanzenu. On the 27th he was warmly engaged by the French, but they suffered most severely, as their loss has been counted at 3000 men; this encouraged Wurmser to invest Landau. Pichegru, formerly a serjeant of artillery, conceived an excellent plan for conquering Alsace; he was well seconded by Hoche, who had also wielded a halbert before he grasped a truncheon.

On the 21st, Wurmser was defeated by the Republicans, who compelled him to retreat; and their victorious march was almost to the gates of Hagenau. The army of the Moselle formed a junction with the army of the Rhine; and the Prussians were defeated near Saarbruck; their loss was considerable. The enemy's camp at Bliescastle was taken by the French on the following day; and, without allowing them to recover from their alarm, they went towards Deux Ponts, under the celebrated General Hoche. By the skill and gallantry of this officer, the heights of Milleback and Hornback were soon subdued, and the Prussians found that Deux Ponts was no longer tenable.

The Republicans suffered severely by making a violent attack on the Duke of Brunswick in the vicinity of



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*Pichegru appointed to the Army of the North.*

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Lauter; but they soon had an ample compensation from the victories of Pichegru, who, on the 8th of December, took all the redoubts of the enemy which defended Hagenuau, at the point of the bayonet. The 22d was also glorious for the French, who made great havoc of the Allies in forcing them from Bischoilers. The Republicans followed the fugitives as far as the heights of Wrotte, where they were said to be strongly fortified; yet nothing could resist the ardour of the French. Pichegru attacked them with his artillery, but finding that this proved ineffectual, and that the ardour of his troops wanted something more decisive, he marched up to the entrenchments, which he completely carried after a strong resistance of three hours, and got possession of all the posts which the Allies had abandoned, and triumphantly entered Weissenburg on the 27th of the same month. General Wurmser retreated to the Rhine, and the Duke of Brunswick fell back to protect Mentz.

The siege of Landau was raised, when it was reduced to the greatest distress; and, by a career of victories, the French easily got Kaiserslautern, Germersheim, and Spires. Such was the animation inspired into the Republicans by the active measures of the two young generals, who now maintained the glory of their country, that the name of the French army struck terror into their enemies.

The command of the northern army was given to Gen. Pichegru; but as Jourdan was declared to have retired with honour to himself, and with the gratitude of his country, nothing excluded him from subsequent authority, and he was soon after named to the command of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse. The French were formidably prepared near Marolles, and their artillery

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The British and the French Royalists.

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galled the outposts of the Allied Powers; but the enemy having crossed the Sambre in great force, vigorously attacked their redoubts, put great numbers of the Republicans to the sword, and made 500 prisoners.

The courts of London and Vienna had united to make the most violent struggle in the common cause, and Colonel Mack, an officer in the Emperor's confidence, was sent to London to arrange the campaign with the British ministry. Whilst the other powers were offering the most generous sacrifices, the King of Prussia, who had, one of the first, tempted them into the contest, was base enough to tamper with the Republic for a separate peace; and by saying he would withdraw from the confederacy, extorted a subsidy of 52,000*l.* per month from the Dutch and English Governments, besides an immediate payment of 300,000*l.*

The French were to force their way through Namur and the district of Liege, to attack the Austrians with a great force near Tournay, and besiege Condé, Quesnoy, and Valenciennes; but this plan was unfolded by an officer who deserted to the Austrians. The opening of the campaign was delayed to an advanced period of the year.

The British government consented to aid the Royalists in Brittany. The troops for this purpose were to be commanded by the Earl of Moira. But whilst they were encamped near Southampton, the situation of the British army in the Netherlands, made his Lordship comply with a very urgent request from the ministry, to land a reinforcement in the Low Countries; he so far succeeded, that he defeated, both at Alost and Malines, a considerable French force, which would otherwise have annoyed the Duke of York's army. Those, however, to whom

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The Duke of York commands the British Army.

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these succours were intended, were subdued by the victorious Republicans before the earl could reach them.

The people of Noirmoutier, in the isle of that name, had remarkably strengthened their fortifications; but they seemed to have looked on their cause as desperate, for they voluntarily surrendered the town before the Republican army arrived near their batteries. It was expected that the sanguinary dispositions of the Republicans would use these unhappy men with uncommon severity, having been so much accustomed to shed human blood. Five hundred were shot at Nantz, as the guillotine was not thought sufficiently expeditious. Multitudes were dispatched by grapeshot, or sunk in barges, according to their conqueror's whim, and it is stated that more than 4000 suffered in a single pit.

The number of 780,000 men were ready to take the field against the enemy, exclusive of the second requisition. Against this immense multitude the Allies could only bring 356,000, exclusive of the aid they might get from Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, and Naples. Prince Cobourg had 140,000 men under his command; the Duke of York 40,000; the Dutch army 20,000; Austrians on the Rhine 60,000; Prussians 64,000; troops of the empire, 20,000; and the Emigrants under Condé, 12,000 men.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York took the command of the British forces. He accompanied the Austrian General Clairfait, to Valenciennes, to hold a council of war, along with Prince Saxe Cobourg; and, after canvassing the most proper steps to be adopted, each returned to his head-quarters. The Republican troops, at the close of the month, appeared in West Flanders, and gave battle to the out-posts at Cateau, Beauvais and

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The Emperor of Germany commands the Allies.

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Solmes; but the Austrian cavalry, which then appeared, compelled the enemy to retreat, with the loss of about 500 men, while that of the Austrians was only 120. A part of the Republican army having surprised the Hessians stationed at Tenbreuil, between Werwick and Ypres, got in the rear of the Hanoverian piquets, and cut off their retreat. But, a considerable force arriving from Menin, the French retired with precipitation, after fulfilling the object they had in view.

As disputes had arisen among the Princes in the Combined Army, as to what rank they should hold, it was resolved that the Emperor in person should be Commander-in-Chief: and on his arrival at Brussels, in April, he was complimented by the States with the title of Duke of Brabant. This was attended with the most solemn marks of flattery and adulation. The keys of the gates of Louvain were presented to his Imperial Majesty, bearing this inscription: "*Cæsar adest, fremant Galli!*"—"Caesar is present, the Gauls shall tremble!" On his arrival at Valenciennes, the Combined Army received him with every mark of joy, and was reviewed by him on the heights above Cateau, and marched, in eight columns, on the following day, towards the small but strong town of Landrecy. Prince Christian, of Hesse Darmstadt, commanded the first column, consisting of Austrians and Dutch, whose destination was Catillon, which, after some resistance, they obliged to surrender. General Alvinzky, who commanded the second column, obliged the enemy to quit their entrenchments at Mazinguer, Oisy, and Nouvion, taking the forest of the last-mentioned name. The third column, commanded by the Emperor in person and the Prince of Cobourg, had its share of success, in the reduction of the two villages

Ribouville and Wassigny, and the advanced guard got possession of Grand and Petit Blocus. The fourth and fifth columns were commanded by the Duke of York, one by himself, and the other by Sir William Erskine. The village of Vaus, with the works which defended it, and the Republican entrenchments in the wood of Bohain, were marked for them.

His Royal Highness was persuaded that the enemy had a very strong position; he determined, if it could be done, to turn their right wing, and commanded the whole column to march forward, under cover of the high ground, while a proper number of cavalry was to deceive the French, and divert them from the object he had in view. When the action began, the fire of the Republicans was very brisk; but on seeing that they could not retain their position, they retreated, when a part were cut off in the wood, and the remainder retired towards the main army by the village of Bohain. The forces under Sir William Erskine were no less victorious. The three remaining columns, commanded by the Prince of Orange, did not come to action with the enemy, as they were only meant to watch the French on the side of Cambray. These successes of the Allies enabled them to lay siege to Landrecy, which was entrusted to the charge of the Prince of Orange.

The Prince of Cobourg had part of his troops at Blocus and Nouvion, formerly mentioned, which the Republicans attacked on the 21st, but by the assistance of the Duke of York, with five battalions of Austrian, and the brigade of British cavalry, under Sir Robert Lawrie, they were driven from Blocus, while victory was in their favour at Nouvion, having forced General Alvincz to retreat. The French were collecting troops

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General Pichegru defeats the Allies.

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from the camp of Cæsar, near Cambray, where the Duke of York sent General Otto, with some cavalry, to ascertain their strength, and offer them battle, if he should think it advisable; but, finding their force was far superior to his own, he declined an engagement till the morning of the 24th, when he received reinforcements in consequence of which he was, at length, victorious, forcing the enemy to quit the field in great confusion, with the loss of 1,200 men and three pieces of cannon. The loss of the Allies was little short of that of the enemy; for, on the following day, the Duke of York was attacked by the French at all points, but they were, however, forced to yield to the British commander, after an obstinate resistance. The Combined Powers suffered very severely in this battle, but we find no statement of it upon record.

The French may now be considered as having begun the campaign; for the attack was so general as to reach along the frontiers from Treves to the sea, a distance of about 180 miles. The column under the command of the Emperor was attacked by the Republicans, without effect. These skirmishes were only stratagems to deceive the Combined Powers, and prevent them from understanding the design of the Republicans. The Austrian general Clairfait, having joined at Moucron with the Hanoverian troops, resolved to act upon the offensive, when he should receive his expected increase of six battalions of Austrian infantry. These designs did not escape General Pichegru, by whom they were disconcerted; for that officer attacked the post at Moucron, which, after a warm resistance by the Allies, was obliged to surrender. Courtray yielded to the French, which produced the evacuation of Menin; that place, from the victories acquired

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Landrecy surrenders to the Allies.

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by the enemy, having despaired of relief. The garrison, which was of four battalions of Hanoverians, and four companies of Emigrants, fought through the Republican troops, and retreated, with little loss, to Ingelmunster.

CHAPTER XXI.

LANDRECY surrendered to the Combined Powers in ten days. With such fury had the place been attacked, that only two houses escaped the vengeance of the cannon at the end of the siege. Two hundred of the inhabitants lost their lives, and 1200 of the garrison; the remainder of the soldiers were made prisoners of war to the number of 4400 men. The Republicans, however, were triumphant towards Treves, with the army of the Moselle. It was ordered to march from Longway towards Arlon, in order to intercept all communication between Luxembourg and Treves, with the countries of Liege and Namur; this was executed with spirit by General Jourdan. He entirely defeated General Beaulieu. The battle lasted two days, according to the French General, and the carnage on either side was dreadful; but there is no authority for the number of killed, wounded, or prisoners.

A severe engagement took place between the Duke of York and a Republican Army of 30,000 men, at Tournay. The right flank of the Combined Army was meant to be turned by the French; but they were unsuccessful, for

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**The Emperor joins the Duke of York.**

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the regiment, commanded by Prince Kaunitz, and posted in a wood, repulsed them with loss. Foiled in this attempt, they sought to force the center of the Duke's army, and attacked it with great intrepidity, in the face of the powerful artillery by which it was defended. But the Republicans retreated with the loss of 8000 men.

General Clairfait made a conquest over the enemy, and obliged them to take shelter in Courtray; but he was quickly forced to retreat across the Heule, and to continue it towards Thielt; where he protected Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend.

The northern Republican army crossed the Sambre, and took Binche; which obliged General Kaunitz to retreat, and station himself betwixt that place and Rouvroy, in order to defend Mons against an attack from that quarter. The French were determined to dislodge him; and they attacked him on the 14th of May, with their usual impetuosity; but fortune smiled on their antagonists, who obliged them to repass the Sambre with the loss of 5000 men, and a few pieces of cannon. This elated the Emperor, as he thought it had secured him that part of the country; for this reason he resolved to march to the assistance of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, at Tournay. The forces of the Emperor, the Duke, and General Clairfait were to join, and act against the line of the Republicans, and in this grand attack it was thought they would be able to drive the enemy out of Flanders. This was, however, disconcerted, owing to some illicit correspondence with the people of Lisle; and the French possessed the secret ere it was fit for execution.

The Combined army, in five columns, began its march on the 16th, in the evening; two of the columns were meant to force the passages of the Marque; and, making



a vigorous attack on the French posts on the river, were to protect the three columns which remained. But it was so late before they could attain their object, and the men so much exhausted, that they relinquished the execution of the rest of their plan. The column on the right, under General Basse, was as fully unfortunate; for the Republicans at Moucron, being much more numerous than he had supposed, he did not think it prudent to give them battle, but resumed his former position at Warcoing. The column under General Otto had more success, as they drove the enemy from Waterloo, and forced their way towards Turcoing. The Duke of York likewise repulsed the Republicans, made them evacuate Lannoy, and marched on to Roubaix; but he did not judge it necessary to proceed forward, being unacquainted with the situation of the columns on his right and left. The Duke having acquainted the Emperor with his designs, the British forces were ordered to march forward and attack Morveaux, as his Majesty was compelled to co-operate with General Clairfait. The Republicans were routed from their works at Morveaux by the intrepid General Abercromby; and the affairs of the 17th might be said to finish with success to the Combined Powers, but it was of short duration.

The French attacked Turcoing on the morning of the 18th; it was commanded by Colonel Devay, and the Duke of York sent two battalions of Austrians in order to make a diversion in that quarter; and they were strictly ordered to join the army, if pushed; but, through some mistake, they joined the Colonel at Turcoing, so that a chasm was made in the right of the Duke's forces, of which it was to be expected the Republican General would take advantage. A body of 16,000 French were seen advancing from Lisle, and

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The Allies defeated by the French.

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another, having made General Otto abandon his position near Waterloo, attacked the British forces in the rear. The troops under the command of the Duke, unable to stand against the enemy, gave way, and the Duke was forced to fly to join General Otto, with whom he remained, on account of the distressed situation of his own army. It is hard to say with whom the blame should rest; the Allies are charged with a want of vigour and firmness, while the Austrians blame the Hanoverians, who, they say, "were the first to retreat. They caused the greatest confusion; their cavalry not only destroyed their infantry, but threw all into such disorder, that they were a prey to the pursuing enemy."

Agreeable to one account, the loss of the Allies in this affair amounted to 3000 men; a number we cannot think exaggerated, when we consider that the loss of the British alone has been reckoned at not less than 1000 men, and 43 pieces of cannon. Two columns under his Imperial Majesty and the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, were also defeated with loss, while General Clairfait could afford no assistance, as his army was divided from the rest by the Lys. These unfortunate events again decided the fate of the Netherlands, and diffused consternation throughout the whole country; nor were a few Imperial proclamations able to support the spirits of the Emperor's subjects. The scattered troops of the allies being collected, they were again attacked by the Republicans on the 22d, with a force of about 100,000 men, designing, if possible, to turn the right wing against the out-posts; the French at first succeeded, but a support being sent under General Fox, that able officer made the Allies maintain their position. This dreadful contest lasted from five in the morning till nine at night, when victory was in favour

of the Combined Powers; and the French finding their situation no longer tenable, withdrew in the night, and marched back towards Lisle. Their supposed loss is almost incredible, being stated at 12,000 men. Thus the French were defeated for the moment in their plan of forcing the Scheldt, and investing Tournay. General Pichegru commanded on this occasion, and his skill was displayed in the position of his army. The right and left wings, with the rear, were guarded by a wood, so that it was impossible for cavalry to do them the least injury.

General Beaulieu marched into the duchy of Bouillon, attacked and took the town of that name, conquered a large body of the French stationed there, and gave up the town to plunder. The Republicans lost about 1200 men killed, 300 prisoners, and 6 pieces of cannon.

The French were successfully attacked by General Kaunitz on the 24th; and he, coming on them by surprise, forced them to retreat with speed, leaving behind them 50 pieces of cannon. Their loss in killed has been stated at 2000, and 3000 prisoners, while that of the Austrians has been called trifling. The Republicans were also beaten at Keyzerslantern by Marshal Mollendorf; he surprised their entrenchments, and put numbers to the sword.

These partial victories, however, gave no lasting advantages to the allied interest. When Beaulieu was doing no more than trifling in Bouillon, Jourdan invaded the duchy of Luxembourg with an army of 40,000 men, and directly got possession of Arlon, which obliged Beaulieu to give up his late conquest, and retreat with speed to defend Namur.

When Jourdan was able to stop the communication

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The Allies rapidly defeated.

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between Charleroi and Brussels, he thought to lay siege to the former place; but the Prince of Orange attacked him and obliged him with great loss to raise the siege and recross the Sambre. The French soon retraced their steps with 60,000 men, and destroyed a strong work which had been thrown up for the defence of Charleroi. This was a place of very great importance in the opinion of the Combined Powers, which made the Prince of Saxe Cobourg undertake its relief by every means in his power. At the wish of the Prince of Orange and General Beaulieu, he went with the principal part of the Combined Army and made a junction with the troops under these officers on the 24th at Nivelles, situated 17 miles North-north-west of Charleroi, and 23 North-east by East of Mons. The chief part of Jourdan's army was at Templeuve, Gosselies, and Fleurus, in order to cover the siege of Charleroi. The Republican posts were attacked on the 26th in the morning, and defended with fury till the afternoon was far advanced. At length, victory smiled on the French, who gained a signal advantage over the Allies, and forced them to retreat to Halle with great loss. They continued their victorious career towards Brussels, and made Cobourg retreat from Halle; and Charleroi surrendered by capitulation.

Defeat now followed upon the heels of the Allies with an astonishing degree of rapidity. Ypres was besieged by a Republican Army of 30,000 men, and their operations were defended by another of 24,000 strong. Looking on this place as the key to West Flanders, the Allies determined to spare no expense in guarding it from the enemy; but General Clairfait, in wanting to make the enemy raise the siege, was three times defeated within five days, after fighting at the head of an army which kept its

ground like a wall of brass ; and, at last, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, in the greatest confusion to Ghent, about 44 miles distant ; where he learned, that there was no further intercourse between that place and Oudenarde. Ypres, after a gallant resistance, surrendered to the Republicans under General Moreau on the 17th of June, on terms, it is said, not always held out by the victors to the conquered. On the defeat of the Austrian General Clairfait, the interest of the Combined Powers was every day more desperate. General Walmoden was obliged to abandon Bruges to the victorious Republicans, who were received by the magistrates on the 24th of June, with the greatest cordiality, after signing submission to the armies and sovereignty of the French Republic.

On the side of Spain the Republicans were equally brilliant. In the vicinity of St. Jean de Luz, ten miles South-west of Bayonne, an action was fought, in which the French were conquerors, having dispersed or taken prisoners three regiments, and an Irish one from Ultona was entirely destroyed. The Spaniards abandoned Boulon, and their camp at Ceret, in the month of April ; and soon after, General Dagobert took Urgel, a town situated near the East borders of Spain, in the province of Catalonia, about 85 miles North-north-west of Barcelona, the capital. He found the citadel able to hold out for a length of time, and the bridge having been destroyed, he was obliged to wait for reinforcements, during which time he was shot by a cannon ball, and General Dugommier succeeded him. One victory gained by the French now was generally the prelude of another. On the 1st of May they obtained a victory near Ceret, on the borders of Spain, the fruits of which were 2000 prisoners, the astonishing number of 200 pieces of cannon, and the

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Victories of the British in the West Indies.

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Spanish camps, magazines, and equipage. This was followed by a blow more terrible to Spain, their principal army being almost wholly destroyed, and their baggage and artillery taken by the conquerors. At Collioure, about 15 miles South-east of Perpignan, 7000 Spaniards laid down their arms before the Republicans.

St. Elmo was quitted by the Spanish forces on the 23d of May, and port Vendies surrendered to General Dugommier. Equally successful were the Republicans in Italy, and victory followed all their movements. In Piedmont alone they took 60 pieces of cannon and 2000 prisoners besides quantities of provisions and stores, and a manufactory of cloth of great value. Neither the Alps nor the Pyrenees had obstacles to check the Republicans. General Dumas, who commanded the army of the Alps, followed a superior enemy through the most dangerous places, and got possession of the Sardinian artillery and magazines, after many bloody conflicts.

The victories of the British in the West Indies, were as rapid as those of the French on the Continent of Europe, owing to the skill and courage of the two brave commanders, Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey; so that time was not granted the enemy even to put themselves upon their guard; and, before it could reasonably be supposed that one island was reduced, they appeared in full force before another. On the conquest of Martinico the troops were instantly embarked for St. Lucia, which fell into the hands of the British on the 4th of April. The enemy lost a great quantity of stores and artillery; but the subjugation of the island was accomplished without much carnage on either side.

Here the commander-in-chief left Colonel Sir Charles Gordon; and on the day on which he finished the reduc-

## Guadeloupe surrenders to the British.

tion of St. Lucia, he embarked his troops and returned to Martinico. On the 6th and 7th, the land forces were removed to the transports; and on the 8th, a detachment was sent to reduce the small islands called the Saints, (situated on the South of Guadeloupe,) which they executed with the greatest gallantry and dispatch. Two of the ships, the *Boyne* and the *Veteran*, anchored on the morning of the 10th off Point-a-Petre, in Guadeloupe, and though the troops were not all arrived, Sir Charles Grey resolved to make a landing at Gosier Bay the next morning, when his troops were covered by the guns of the *Winchelsea*, which Lord Garlies ran up so close to the French batteries, that they abandoned them with precipitation. Next day, (the 12th,) at five in the morning, Sir Charles took the Fort called *Fleur d'Epee*, at the point of the bayonet, and thus got immediate possession of *Grande Terre*; this was followed on the 20th by the conquest of *Basseterre*, (situated on the South-west of the island,) which surrendered by capitulation. It is stated that the number of men at Guadeloupe, qualified to bear arms, amounted to 3677, of which the enemy are said to have lost 232 in killed, wounded and prisoners at *Fleur d'Epee*, and the British about 80. The Commander-in-chief returned again to Martinico, and left the command of Guadeloupe with General Dundas.

One circumstance of this period was, the bad management of the British Navy, which made the French annoy our merchant vessels so much, that, in the month of May, they took 99 sail, whilst our captures were almost nothing; among others, they took eight West Indianmen, and the Lisbon packet, with a vast quantity of money.

This method of annoying our trade was strangely

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Battle of the first of June.

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abandoned by the French; and their anxiety for a convoy, expected every hour from America, with the rich produce of their West-India islands, made the Convention order a fleet of 26 sail of the line (in May) to put to sea from Brest in order to protect it. The command was given to Admiral Villaret Joyeuse; and he had on board one of the representatives of the people, Jean Bon St. Andre, as a Commissioner, or spy upon the Admiral's conduct. As Lord Howe, the English Commander, had information of this rich convoy, he put to sea in the same month, with 26 sail of the line. On the 28th, the British admiral saw the French fleet; but it was at a great distance from him, on his weather bow. When they came quite in sight of each other, and within reach of shot, the 29th and following days were taken up with a number of manoeuvres and skirmishes till the 1st of June, when his lordship forced the enemy to a close action, after having got what mariners call their weather-gage. This wonderful naval engagement was fought on both sides with the most determined bravery; but the British tars were superior to the Republican sailors, both in knowledge and discipline. In manoeuvring before the grand attack, several of the French ships were much damaged, and, at best, they could in no sense be thought fit to cope with the British commander.

Some ships in both fleets had their masts completely carried away; and the numbers who were slain, or otherwise perished, make humanity shudder. The *Le Vengeur* of 74 guns was sunk, and all hands on board perished. The patriotic sentiments of the crew will probably command the admiration of the latest posterity. When the guns upon the lower deck were completely under water, they continued firing those of



the upper tier; and when going into eternity, they made the air resound with the cries of "Vive la Republique!" "Vive la liberté, et la France!" About an hour after, the engagement became general and bloody; the Republican Admiral, who was engaged with the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, and his example was followed by all that were able to carry sail. The British fleet were also much disabled, since many of the French ships escaped after they had struck; and two of them in particular had no difficulty in getting clear off with a small sail on a battered foremast. Six out of the twenty-six were taken into Plymouth by the British Admiral; so that the loss of the Republicans on this memorable day, amounted to seven sail of the line, including the unfortunate *Le Vengeur* which went to the bottom. The British had 272 men killed, and 787 wounded. The loss of the French must have been great, and has been reckoned at 1900 in killed and wounded. This was thought at the time to be the most sanguinary and best fought actions that ever took place on the ocean.

The French, upon the whole, were no great losers by this battle, for they gained the object for which it was undertaken. But a few days after it was fought, the rich American convoy arrived in safety, consisting of 160 sail, whose cargoes were moderately valued at five millions sterling, exclusive of a vast quantity of naval stores and provisions which they had on board.

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All Foreigners expelled the Convention.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

THE political state of France evinced the greatest powers of human energy, and every thing was done to direct the State against the danger which threatened it. A military Commission was formed under Carnot and others, who suited themselves to the spirit of the times.

Such *miracles*, if we may so call them, were acted by this people, that they seemed to know no political weakness, as if they adopted it as an infallible maxim, "That a nation to be great 'tis sufficient that she wills it."

The sections of the Brissotines and the Jacobins still continued at variance. The latter were Christians, and thought that power in the hands of the former, would be as dangerous to them as if in the Royalists, and Robespierre resolved to take advantage of this pious idea.

All foreigners were expelled from the Convention, and the people taught that they had been so often deceived, a new line of conduct was best to be adopted. Danton, unconscious of the danger of himself and his friends, entered the tribune, and recommended confidence in the Committee. Nineteen of his Colleagues were, however, guillotined in a shorter space than an Equitable Court would have taken to look over their papers.

His friends little thought they would so soon become the victims of the same hasty judgment. The Convention were informed, (31st March,) by Legendre that four of their members were arrested; "Danton is one of them;

"I know not the others; you should hear them; I am "pure, and so I believe is Danton." This gave offence to Robespierre, who exclaimed at Legendre's not seeming to know the others, and he moved the previous question, which was carried.

A decree of arrest being confirmed against Danton, Lacroix, Philippeaux, Camille Desmoulins, and Herault Sechelles, they were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. None appeared to be agitated. The wit of Danton disconcerted the Judges, and he threw small balls about the size of a pin in their faces. All the prisoners asked for Robespierre to be present, but he excused himself under the view of assassination. They were sentenced at two, and in three hours afterwards brought out to the guillotine. Danton suffered last, and turned himself up to the dreadful axe with such magnanimity that the spectators were penetrated with respect.

Danton is described as a man of abilities and eloquence, trained to the law. His person was tall, rather corpulent, and but few could look at him without being prepossessed in his favour. Many counter revolutionary charges were alledged against him, but were never proved. When in the prison of the Conciergerie, he thus exclaimed, "'Tis better to be a fisherman than govern men; the fools as they see me pass to the scaffold will cry, 'Vive la Republique.' Last year I had the Revolutionary Tribunal instituted; I beg pardon; it was "to prevent the massacres of September."

Danton is thought to have been the planner of the attack upon the palace on the 10th of August, which dreadful outrage was executed by the ruffian Westerman, and they both perished in one day on the same scaffold.

At this period Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser,

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The Princess Elizabeth tried and executed.

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demanded that the sister of the ci-devant King should be given up to the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Princess Elizabeth was accordingly sent to the prison of the Conciergerie on the 10th of May, and appeared before her judges. The trial was of the same hasty kind which had always distinguished this bloody court, being composed of a few absurd questions put to the prisoner: she had neither advocates nor witnesses of any description whatever, and was condemned to the guillotine without further ceremony.

Robespierre fed his vanity by taking the lead at a procession in honour of the Supreme Being. And the awkward joy which he shewed in return for this flattery, gave the malevolent an opportunity of calling him an ambitious conspirator, who meant to usurp the sovereign power. Attempts were soon made to assassinate some of his party, and he was foolish enough to exalt himself into a servant of the Most High, and mounted the tribune to thank God that he and his party as faithful servants to their country, were accounted worthy of the daggers of tyrants.

Though the majority held all the authority of France in their own hands, and could send Robespierre to the guillotine with as much ease as they had sent Danton and hundreds of others, they were fearful of the Jacobin Club, which was totally devoted to Robespierre, as also of the Committee of Public safety. The policy, therefore, was to create jealousy between the Committee and the Club, by representing the latter as a check upon the Government. The bait succeeded; the Committee thought to see its rival annihilated in its favour, and Robespierre feared that he must sacrifice one of his supports, or he could not secure either. His wish was in favour of the

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Robespierre ordered into arrest.

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Club, for by their assistance he could overthrow the Committee, and form another, devoted solely to his interest.

To the Club, Robespierre declared his reliance on their zeal and good opinion, and his friends strove to get a resolution passed in favour of his patriotism. This produced false accusations; and it was soon reported that he was arming his partisans against the Convention. Billaud Varennes declared it was resolved in the Jacobin Club to murder a number of the representatives, and a violent speech against tyrants ended with a charge against Robespierre, that the words probity and virtue were in his mouth, but he put those qualities under foot by his practice.

"These charges so deeply impressed the mind of Robespierre, that he rushed towards the tribune to vindicate himself, but he was not listened to. A multitude of voices shouted, "Down with the tyrant, down with the tyrant!"

After Tallien had ended a speech against him, he moved that the sittings of the Convention should be permanent till the Revolution was completed; that Robespierre and his gang should be instantly arrested; and it was resolved that Henriot, the commander, and his whole staff, should be all arrested.

Robespierre still endeavoured to defend himself; but so violent was the Convention now, that he was not allowed to be heard. Couthon and Le Bas used every means to protect him, but in vain; and when they failed, they voluntarily entreated to be included in the decree of arrest. When this passed the Convention, an usher was directly ordered to take Maximilian Robespierre into safe custody. He hesitated to obey, but, Robespierre

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Robespierre escapes to the Hotel de Ville.

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giving a signal of obedience, he followed him out of the hall. The administrator of police, one of their partisans, refused to admit them at the Luxembourg, and they were taken to the Hotel de Ville.

Henriot found means to escape ; but his troops were not hearty in the cause, his artillery excepted. He formed them in three divisions ; one to protect the Hotel de Ville, another against the Committee of Public Safety, and a third to operate against the Convention. Robespierre and his companions in the Hotel de Ville formed themselves into a Convention, and pronounced the representatives of the people to be traitors to their country. This was the most alarming moment since the beginning of the Revolution. The most worthy inhabitants of Paris imagined their destiny turned on the event of this day ; and taking advantage of the alarm bell, they roused the citizens by the cry of *Vive la Convention !*

The representatives of the people in the Convention, were very active ; for, on hearing of the escape of Robespierre and his associates, they voted them outlaws and traitors, and some of their members were chosen to lead the people against the usurpers. A proclamation was issued, urging the inhabitants to defend their liberties and national representation.

The members of the Convention appointed to command the people, found themselves able to attack the Hotel de Ville, where the outlaw and his associates had taken shelter. Bourdon de l'Oise appeared at the Place de Greve, and read the proclamation issued by the Convention ; on his getting into the hall in complete armour, the rebels were deserted in their greatest danger, and turned their own weapons on themselves, but most were prevented from their designs. Robespierre fired a pistol

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Robespierre and others executed.

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in his mouth, which wounded him in the jaw, while a gens d'arme wounded him in his side. His brother broke a leg and an arm by jumping out of a window ; Le Bas shot himself upon the spot.

The ci-devant commander of the troops endeavoured to bring them to defend the traitors ; but by the clamour of some persons in the streets, he was thrown out of the window. The rebels were taken before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and, as it was not difficult to make out their persons, the process was easy. They, with their numerous associates in villainy, were condemned to die in the Place de la Revolution, where the blood of the unfortunate Louis XVI. of his penitent consort, and of many innocent persons, had been shed. On the 28th of July, at seven in the evening, they were escorted to the place of execution, attended by a greater number of people than ever assembled on a similar occasion. But nothing can justify the transports which were seen in every face, while the people were unanimous in exclaiming, " Ah, the Villains ! Live the Republic ! Live the Convention ! " The faces of Maximilian Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, attracted the populace, as they were covered with blood and wounds.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

THE battle of Fleurus seemed decisive of the fate of the Netherlands. It was fought on the very ground on which the French had discomfited the Allies a century



ROBERT T. PIERRE

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Brussels surrenders to the French.

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before, and Jourdan, with Republican troops, was the rival of the Marshal Luxembourg. A balloon was elevated, to which Etienne, Adjutant-General of the army, was attached, and he corresponded with the French General during the action, and acquainted him of every fresh position taken by the enemy. He conveyed his information by notes fastened to an arrow. The loss of the Combined Forces was very great. They retreated in all quarters, and left Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde, Brussels, and even Namur, unprotected.

The Duke of York retreated from Tournay to Renaix, and General Walmoden left Bruges. Earl Moira, however, gave the British Commander in Chief much assistance, after he had repulsed the French at Alost, where Lieutenant Colonels Doyle and Vandeleur distinguished themselves. Earl Moira then moved at Malines, where he forced them to retire, after they had attacked the outposts of the Duke in front of the canal leading from Brussels to Antwerp.

The Prince of Saxe Cobourg, however, was determined not to give up the ancient domain of the House of Austria without a severe struggle. He collected the remains of the army, which the French attacked and forced from Mons. The rear guard of the Allies quitted the town by one gate, while the van of the French entered by another. The Prince fortified himself at Soignies, and made the post as strong as that of Jemappe. The French, however, braved the fire of the immense artillery, and showed their excellent discipline by being heedless of the slaughter which ensued. Their victory was completed amidst a horrible carnage. The Austrians quickly passed through Brussels: the inhabitants saw their flight with satisfaction. They opened their gates to the French with the greatest joy, and proclaimed

ed their union with the Republic, which was so eminently victorious. Oudenarde, Ghent, and Ostend, joined in these exultations, and the sovereignty of the Low Countries was lost to Austria, probably for ever.

The French armies of the North, Sambre, and Meuse, joined at Brussels, and got an immense quantity of stores and magazines, during their rapid career. The luxuriant crops of the Netherlands were on the ground; and the Republicans levied heavy contributions of money and corn. Nieuport resisted till the 19th, though, during the blockade, it was dreadfully bombarded by an army of 30,000 men.

The Prince of Orange was stationed at Waterloo; but on account of the strong reinforcements which the enemy were constantly receiving, found the post at Waterloo no longer tenable, and retreated across the Dyle with great loss. He fixed his head-quarters at Niel, where the French did not suffer him to remain long. The Stadtholder invited the Dutch to give every tenth man to save his country and humble France; but his subjects listened with coldness and indifference.

General Kleber marched from Brussels to Louvain, on the 15th of July, with one division under his command; to favour which movement Lefevre and others continued their march in the front of the Dyle. At a place called the Iron Mountain, General Clairfait endeavoured to stop the enemy, but was defeated with the loss of 6000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Abbey of Florival was seized upon by Generals Dubois and Lefevre, while Kleber attacked Louvain, which, after a gallant resistance, was obliged to surrender. In the rapid retreat towards Tirlemont, the Austrians lost a prodigious number of men in killed and taken prisoners.

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The Territory of Liege taken by the French.

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Namur was evacuated in the night of the 16th by General Beaulieu, and on the 20th the keys were offered at the bar of the Convention.

The famous pass at the town of Lier, defended by General Walmoden, was forced, and a trumpeter dispatched to Antwerp, to announce their design of entering that city. On the 24th they got possession of Antwerp without opposition, and found immense magazines of hay with thirty pieces of cannon; although the combined powers had destroyed magazines of forage at their departure valued at half a million sterling.

By the retreat of the Austrians from Louvain, the whole territory of Liege was exposed to the intrepid Jourdan. He pressed the enemy to Maestricht, when his advanced guard marched, on the 27th, towards the river Jaar, while the combined army was stationed before Liege, where it defied the cannonade of the French for some time, but at length retreated with loss. The Republicans entered Liege, while the Allies entrenched themselves on the height of Chartreux.

The Allies abandoned Fort Lillo on the river Scheldt, and General Moreau took the island of Cadsand, in which were seventy pieces of cannon, one-third of which were brass, a great quantity of tents and waggon, with military and other stores. General Almain summoned the garrison of Sluys; but Vanderdugan replied, "the honour of defending a place like Sluys, that of commanding a brave garrison, and the confidence they repose in me, are my answer." This brave officer bore the attacks of the besiegers till the 25th of August, at which time he surrendered. The garrison were made prisoners, but the French general allowed them to march out with the honours of war, in testimony of their gallant defence.

The armies of the Rhine and Moselle were also victorious. A sanguinary battle ensued at Spires, and victory seemed doubtful. The next day the French attacked the Prussians with greater vigour, and after seven attacks carried the posts which the Prussians had fortified on the top of Platoberg, accounted the loftiest mountain in the territory of Deux Ponts. The Republicans took nine guns, besides ammunition, waggons, horses, and a number of prisoners. The Prussian troops, commanded by the Prince of Hohenlohe, retreated to Edickhoffen. At Tripstadt, after a bloody contest, the French were victorious, and took two howitzers, with six pieces of cannon.

The French attacked every post of the enemy from Newstadt to the Rhine, a distance of seventeen miles, along the river Rebach. A cannonade began at two o'clock and continued till eight in the evening, when the troops of the Emperor retreated with great precipitation, and passed over the Rhine, while the Prussians retreated towards Guntersblum, and a part towards Mentz. Keiserslautern surrendered to the French without opposition.

Treves, Landrecy, Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and Condé, fell into the hands of the French. The Republicans found in these places an immense quantity of stores of every description, with upwards of 500 pieces of cannon, and plenty of musquets and ammunition. It is stated, that not less than 3,000,000*l.* had been expended on the fortifications of Valenciennes by his Imperial Majesty. A thousand emigrants were here delivered up to their implacable countrymen.

The British army, on retreating from Antwerp, marched towards Breda. The right column passed through the

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The Duke of York retreats across the Meuse.

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city on the 4th of August, and the left marched round it, in order to occupy a position about four miles distant, to co-operate with the garrison. The Prince of Orange was occupied in putting the town and garrison in the best state of defence, which it was believed would be powerfully assisted by the Duke of York's army, consisting of 25,000 men. The Duke, however, retreated from Breda towards Bois-le-Duc in the end of August, with little or no opposition from the enemy.

General Pichegru was at the head of 80,000 men. The Republicans forced the village of Boxtel on the 24th, with their advanced guard. His Royal Highness retreated across the Meuse on the 16th, and took a position about three miles from Grave. In these attacks the Dutch say that the Allies lost 2000 men, and add, that the Duke of York's retreat gave so easy a passage into Holland, that an enemy of much less courage than the French, would have readily undertaken it.

The Prince of Cobourg used all his efforts to rouse the circles of Germany to make a desperate effort in vindication of Germanic liberty. He allowed that the resources of the French were inexhaustible, and their forces innumerable. He declared, that if they did not assist in repelling the invaders, he would pass the Rhine, and leave them and their property to be plundered by the Republicans.

This, however, was not the time for issuing manifestoes, when the French were so eminently victorious in almost every quarter; but the Emperor looked on himself under the same necessity to try the experiment. He admitted that his resources were totally inadequate to combat such an enemy with any chance of success. He

felt indignant at his Prussian Majesty, for accepting a subsidy from Great Britain, and omitting to fulfil his compact. He stated that so strong were the French armies, and so inconceivably rapid their march, that he was under the necessity of withdrawing his forces, and employing them to defend his own dominions.

The Prince of Saxe Cobourg was dismissed from his command, and bid farewell to his army in a most pathetic address.

The Austrians, under General Latour, were strongly entrenched near Liege, and two strong camps were occupied by 18,000 men on the river Aywaille, whose banks were also defended by very steep rocks. The Republicans carried all at the point of the bayonet, and took the camps at full charge. The loss of the Austrians here was very considerable. General Clairfait, then between Liege and Maestricht, sent eighteen battalions to support Latour, by which opportune assistance he collected the scattered remains of his army. The French again gave battle on the next day, and he was obliged to retreat to Herve, after losing all his artillery.

General Clairfait retreated to Juliers, and the French made their triumphal entry into Aix-la-Chapelle.

His position at Juliers was taken with that judgment for which he has always been eminently distinguished; but the French crossed the Roer, and gave battle to all the posts of the brave, but unfortunate Austrian commander. The conflict was terrible, and continued four days, but victory was in favour of the Republicans. Clairfait, unable to maintain the combat, and having suffered great loss, took advantage of a fog, and effected his retreat. Juliers immediately surrendered, and the

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The Army of the Rhine constantly victorious.

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arsenal was found abundantly supplied. The Austrian general retreated in the greatest confusion, and he lost numbers of men both in retreating and fighting.

Cologne was taken by the French on the 6th of October, and they were welcomed by the inhabitants with every demonstration of joy.

Coblentz was odious to the Republicans, as being earliest in sheltering the emigrants. The Allies were busied for two months in throwing up very formidable redoubts before it. In October General Jourdan sent General Marceau to Coblentz, with his division; he fell in with the Hussars of the Allies on the 22d, when he boldly engaged them, killed vast numbers, and took fifty prisoners. On the following day he took the redoubts with his infantry, by assault, and the Austrians repassed the Rhine in confusion. The Republican army of the Rhine was going on from victory to victory. Frankendal yielded to the French on the 17th of October, and the next day they triumphantly entered into Worms. The army of the Moselle took Bingen, from whence the siege of Mentz may be said to have been begun.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

FORT Crevecoeur and Bois-le-Duc fell into the hands of the Republicans.



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A British column defeated.

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After the taking of Bois-le-Duc, General Pichegru asked for leave of absence from his army, his health having been much injured. He had commanded during two active campaigns, without being once beaten. The Convention granted his request, and nominated General Moreau to succeed him.

The Duke of York states, that on the 19th the Republicans attacked all the advanced posts on his right wing with great force, and that the post to the left of the 87th regiment was routed, which obliged Major Hope to retire on the dyke along the Waal, which he did for some time, and did not meet with much opposition from the enemy. His Royal Highness then adds, "unfortunately, however, a strong body of the enemy's hussars, being mistaken for the corps of Rohan, the regiment allowed them to come on unmolested, when the hussars immediately attacked; and the narrowness of the dyke, which, on every other occasion must have afforded a security to the infantry, in this instance acted against them, as they were driven off it by the enemy's charge." Of the 87th regiment only the major and fifty men escaped the devastations of the field of battle. General Pichegru says, that he made 600 prisoners, besides 69 emigrants, and took four pieces of cannon. Three hundred of the unfortunate emigrants were also cut to pieces.

The French having made the passage of the Meuse, in order to attack the left wing of his army, on the 4th of November General Wurmser ordered a sortie from Nimeguen, under Major-General de Burgh, consisting of 3000 men, including Dutch, British, and Hanoverians. By the official returns the Republicans lost about 500 men, and that of the Allies, independent of the Dutch, was

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Evacuation of Nimeguen by the British.

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210. The intrepid General de Burgh, who commanded, was wounded. This checked the designs of the French troops.

The town was to be deserted on the evening of the 7th of October. The Hanoverian and British troops effected a retreat in a tolerable manner ; but their hurry in destroying the bridge before the Dutch troops could reach it, produced the most fatal effects to the Allies. Finding it on fire, they sought to pass the river over the great flying bridge ; but no sooner had they got upon it, than it swung round, either owing to the Republican artillery having cut the ropes, by which it was kept in one position, or from a mistake of the troops, who, thinking that the enemy had possession of the bridge, fired upon it for a length of time. The issue was, that they perished by shot, or in the river, or were taken by the Republicans, who then had possession of Nimeguen. General Michaud obtained the possession of Philippine, on the Scheldt, and of Sas-de-Ghent.

The French passed the Meuse, and General Kleber summoned Metz, but without effect. In spite of two sorties, the batteries were completed in less than two days, with some strong works on the Limberg. The Republican artillery was increased by thirty pieces of cannon. General Kleber a second time summoned the town, and when the trumpeter left the gates the besieging army poured shot and shells in the town, and continued it during the night. In the whole circumference of the city it was not easy to find a spot that could be looked on as a place of safety ; many public and private buildings were wholly destroyed, and nothing was heard but the dismal groans of the wounded and the dying.

This dreadful spectacle lasted for three days ; at the

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*Bellegarde surrenders to the French.*

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end of which time the governor, overpowered by the supplications of the magistrates and people, offered to negotiate with General Kleber, and the city surrendered by capitulation on the 4th of November. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and were not to bear arms against France till regularly exchanged.

The army of the Eastern Pyrenees was commanded by General Doppet, who marched on the 14th of June from Puycerda to Campredon, which he made his head-quarters, after he had become master of Tonges and Ribes. At Ripoll he attacked a manufactory of arms, which the Spaniards had established there, and added a great quantity of them to his military stores. The siege of Bellegarde was carried on, to relieve which place Count de l'Union made a bold attempt, after being reinforced by foreign battalions lately come from Africa. The Republicans at first gave way, but returned to the charge, soon took the heights, from which they were driven, and finished the defeat of the Spaniards, who left 2500 dead in the field.

Bellegarde surrendered to General Dugommier on the 20th of the ensuing month, the garrison of which consisted of 6000 men. On the day following Count de l'Union made a very gallant attempt to retake it, but was forced to give up every idea of succeeding after losing 600 men, and four pieces of cannon. Here the victorious career of General Dugommier ended, by a victory he gained over the Spaniards and emigrants at Spouilles. Great havoc was made of the unfortunate emigrants; but a thousand Spaniards and Portuguese obtained quarter as prisoners of war. While General Dugommier was directing the operations, he was killed by a shell. The same month Count de l'Union and three other Spanish

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*The French defeat the Spaniards.*

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Generals were killed near St. Fernando de Figueres. This place cost the Spanish court an enormous sum of money, and six months were spent in erecting batteries for its defence, all mounted with pieces of very heavy artillery. Their strength here was 40,000 men, and their entrenchments remarkably strong. These great works, which took them six months to complete, were carried by the Republicans in three hours!

The army of the Western Pyrenees was fully as successful; for the redoubt of Mary Louisa, the camp of St. Jean de Luz, and the fort of St. Barbe, were stormed and taken in the course of a day by Delaforde, general of division. The Spaniards lost a vast number of men in killed, besides tents, cannon, and prodigious quantities of ammunition and small arms. The villages of Bera and Lessaca also fell into the power of the French: these were a most valuable acquisition, as they contained extensive granaries to support the army.

A division of the Republican army, commanded by General Moncey, took the post of the passage; the day following St. Sebastian was invested, and surrendered by capitulation; the garrison were made prisoners of war. No sooner were these places reduced, than two ships, laden with powder, ball, wine, and other articles, not knowing of the surrender, entered the port of the passage, and were a prey to the Republicans, who pushed their advanced posts as far as the gates of Tolosa.

The Spaniards strove to rally their scattered forces, but all their efforts against the victorious Republicans were of no avail, for 6000 of them were beaten by 600 French! at which time, however, 150 of the Walloon guards deserted to them, a matter which makes it probable that the Republicans were as much indebted for vic-

## Successful Attack of the French on Fort Fleur d'Épée.

tory to the disaffection of the Spaniards as to their own intrepidity. They had a line of posts of forty leagues, which the French attacked in twelve places at once, and did not wait to be assaulted by the enemy. The Spaniards were strongly fortified, but the Republicans carried their entrenchments near Boddaditz, Cubeg, and Villeneuve, and their works, which had taken up more than a year, were totally demolished.

The British forces in the West Indies, too weak to conquer the French islands, were exceedingly decreased by disease, and Major General Dundas died at Guadeloupe, after a few days illness. But this did not terminate the misfortunes of Britain in India. A French squadron appeared off Fort Fleur d'Épée on the 3d of June, of two ships of 50 guns each, one of 40, one frigate, and five transports.

The commandant of that place, Colonel Drummond, was much deceived about the actual force of the Republicans, when he computed them at 300 men. Owing to this mistake, he agreed to the earnest importunity of the royalists, to be sent against them; and a detachment of 180 volunteers, under the command of Captain M'Dowall, of the 43d regiment, were sanguine enough to suppose that they should surprise them at the village of Gozier, where they were posted; but the first fire made the Royalists retreat, very few of whom returned to the fort. The French sent thirteen boats full of men on the 5th, and attacked Fort Fleur d'Épée the next day, which they took by assault, and made the British garrison retreat to Fort Louis with much loss; but this place was not thought tenable, so that Colonel Drummond retreated to Basseterre.

Victor Hugues, a man calculated for desperate attempts

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Victor Hugues arms the people of colour.

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being entrusted by the Convention with discretionary authority, proceeded to put the island in the best state of defence: he issued the decree relative to the emancipation of the slaves, furnished a body of them with armour and apparel, and equipped many of the mulattoes, on whom he thought he could depend. Sir Charles Grey was equally as diligent; he assembled all the troops he could at the shortest notice, and sailed from St. Kitt's for Guadeloupe, where he arrived on the 19th of June, under cover of the British fleet.

The best troops cannot expect success when they are to contend with greatly superior numbers, inflamed by violent passions. Sir Charles was assured of this; and as the rainy season had begun, he resolved, if possible, to finish the campaign by a decisive blow; he dispatched Brigadier General Symes, with three battalions of grenadiers and light infantry, and a battalion of sailors, to begin an attack upon Point-a-Petre, and try to take it by surprise. Owing to an error of the guide, they got to the strongest side, and were exposed to the fire of the Republicans in a place where scaling ladders were of no use. Their retreat was retarded by a continued firing from the houses: the British General, and two other officers of rank, were wounded, and 600 men were lost.

Sir Charles Grey sent a detachment of troops and seamen to cover the retreat of the unfortunate division.— They retired to Gozier, and embarked part of the forces. The town and shipping were attempted to be destroyed by batteries of heavy artillery, and mortars, and the gunboats battered the fort at Point-a-Petre and La Fleur d'Epée. Victor Hugues made such able dispositions, that although not a military man, he gained a decided superiority.

The Admiral and the General, who had retired to Martinique, awaited in vain the assistance they sought from England, and resolved to adopt a defensive warfare, until they should arrive. They were in hopes that the naval force at Salee would render Basseterre secure. The watchful spirit of the enemy was predominant, for a landing was effected, during a dark night. They seized on Petibourg, and basely killed many of the sick and wounded, and annoyed the English posts, and the men of war, with red-hot shot so well, that General Graham unwillingly agreed to capitulate, and the British troops were allowed the honours of war. No terms could be obtained for the white and free people of colour, although they had taken the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty ; a covered boat only was granted, in which some of the Royalists were taken to a place of safety : the remainder, who proposed to cut their way through the ranks of their countrymen, suffered as rebels, by the guillotine, or perished by the musketry of those who made them prisoners.

Thus aided by a small force from France and a few lines, annulling slavery, Guadaloupe was restored to France ; and if the humanity of Victor Hugues was as conspicuous as his talents, he would have been surpassed by few men of the present times.

## CHAPTER XXV.

THE Convention was divided into factions. The Jacobin Club continued, and acted on the same system that Robespierre had planned. The Moderatists were numerous, but did not possess energy enough to preserve their power. A number of the members of the Convention were denounced by Tallien and others, of having been the tools of Robespierre, and for not destroying his power when they had the means. The articles, twenty-six in number, were separately discussed, and declared calumnious. This decision re-established the power of Barrere, &c. at the expense of Tallien and others, and it was agreed between the parties that neither should disturb the harmony of the Convention by accusing the other.

This was, however, near being interrupted, in consequence of an attempt made to kill Tallien by a pistol shot, which wounded him. The Jacobin Club was moved to be suppressed, but the majority wished to suspend the motion till the report of the state of France was made, and in the mean time a report of Tallien's health was to be inserted in the bulletin and read every day.

The influence of the Jacobin Club visibly declined. Addresses were presented and satires published against them. Cambaceres read an address in the Convention, urging the necessity of the people relying on their representatives; it invited them to seek out modest men, who courted no employments, but practised Republican



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*The Jacobin Club change their name.*

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virtues without pride. This address was received and ordered to be printed and circulated.

The whims of the Revolution yet continued, and the Convention allowed the citizens of the National Institution of Music, to enter their hall, and play several pieces composed by Jean Jacques Rousseau. These musicians appeared to have been of no common talent, for they prevailed on the Convention to attend them in a procession, and to celebrate a festival in honour of the citizen of Geneva.

The Jacobins felt that their strength was going; they resolved, however, to make one effort to recover their ascendancy. The day before the Committee, which was appointed to examine into the state of the popular societies, gave in their report, the "Society of Defenders of the Republic, one and indivisible," sitting at the ci-devant Jacobins, did homage to the Address of the Convention to the people, felicitated it on the destruction of the reign of terror, and added, that, in taking their present name, they aimed at co-operating in instructing the people in their rights and duties. The Convention ordered honourable mention of this, and insertion in the bulletin. The Jacobins did not expect this, they looked to the rejection of their Address; but, at all events they hoped now to stand well with the people. The Convention on the next day received the report on the societies. The galleries and hall were crowded, and the streets were strongly guarded and paraded by patrols. It was presented by Delmas, who stated by what means the societies and clubs had kept their ascendancy, and proposed, that all correspondencies between societies should be prohibited; that all petitions and addresses should be individually signed; that

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Milder measures used by the Convention.

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those, who, as presidents or secretaries, should sign them in a collective name should be imprisoned, and that descriptive lists of the members of each society should be given to the different municipalities. The decree passed, and popular societies should from thenceforth, be looked on as legally abolished.

The Convention now investigated the cause of the cruelties which had been committed in La Vendee; they found that it arose in the conduct of the Robespierrean faction, and the representative Carrier, who was denounced, and executed, with two members of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantz. This bold man's defence was ingenious, an honourable testimony of his abilities, but a wicked memorial of the cruelty of his heart. Others were tried and acquitted. Justice was tempered with mercy. A pardon was offered to the insurgent Royalists, if they threw down their arms within a month, in their respective communes. Commissioners were nominated to visit the various places in a state of rebellion, in order to effectuate the objects of the proclamation, and the most promising consequences followed.

This influence was not simply beneficial in the interior, it spread itself beyond the territories of France, and the Convention daily got accounts of the aid it gave the French armies in their progress. The Flemish and German cities threw their gates open to those who conquered in the name of the Republic to extend the blessings of liberty, and whose victories were meant to further the union of all nations, in one universal sentiment of freedom and happiness. The subjects of those powers at war with the Republic rejoiced in the destruction of the system of revolutionary tyranny that had fettered France.

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*The Stadtholder visits Amsterdam in disguise.*

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The people, whom, under Robespierre, they would force as conquerors, now courted them and looked on them as their deliverers and their brethren.

The states of Friesland agreed to acknowledge the Republic of France, to end their connection with Great Britain, and sign a treaty of peace and alliance with the Convention. In other provinces also, resolutions were passed, clearly inimical to the Stadtholder's government. Republican sentiments shewed themselves so plainly in Amsterdam, that the government of Holland, on the 17th, positively forbad all popular discussions on political subjects, and the presenting of petitions or memorials on any account whatever. Soon after this, the Stadtholder went to Amsterdam in disguise, to ascertain the true state of the public mind. His situation was very distressing. He had published many spirited addresses to the people, but was unable to instil into them a spirit of resistance. The opposite party would subject the country to a foreign power rather than join in any way to secure its independence.

Many respectable citizens of Amsterdam drew up a petition, and presented it to the magistrates early in November. It stated the sudden appearance of the hereditary Prince of Orange and the Duke of York in that city, which, they affirmed, had no other object in view than to check the deliberations of their High Mightinesses, to induce them to receive British troops, and to consent to a general inundation. The petition condemned such measures, and if they did not desire to receive the French, they were not inclined to stop the subjugation of Holland by the only methods that could be properly adopted with that view. The petition was success-

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*The French cross the Meuse.*

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ful; the magistrates would not attempt the inundation, and many of the petitioners, who were arrested, were taken from prison in triumph.

Though the Republicans did not advance with their usual rapidity, the Combined Powers found it very difficult to act upon the defensive. Numbers were cut off by disease, while the hospitals were in want of assistance and suitable medicines. The military were without clothing and shoes, and the sudden changes of the weather at this eventful period, caused a putrid fever, which made the most dreadful destruction.

The republicans made an attempt to cross the Waal, from Nimeguen, upon four rafts, two were sent to the bottom by the British troops, another drove towards that side occupied by the Dutch, and the fourth got back in safety. They tried the passage of the river above Nimeguen, both in boats and on rafts, to the amount of 5000 men; 200 of them surprised an Hanoverian piquet at Panneren, took a battery, spiked three pieces of cannon, and threw another into the river without losing a single man. But another body of French troops was allowed by the Austrians to reach the middle of the river Emmerick, when they opened a dreadful fire from their batteries, and drowned the most part of the troops. On the 15th, however, the French were befriended by a most intense frost, which made both the Meuse and the Waal passable on foot within a week; and the French marched a strong column across the Meuse on the 27th, near the village of Driel. The right wing, which reached from Nimeguen to fort St. André, was to keep a watchful eye on the Combined Powers, and the centre took possession of the Bommel Waert and Langstraat, while the left wing forced the lines of Breda.

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The Duke of York leaves the British Army.

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The Dutch, unable to retain Bommel, attempted to cross the Waal; but the Republicans defeated them. The ice over the Waal was so strong, that heavy artillery could be taken across it with ease and safety. The Republicans instantly proceeded to take possession of the Tieler Waert, between the Waal and the Leck. The Allies, fearing for Culemborg and Gorcum, selected the following troops: ten battalions of British infantry, six squadrons of light cavalry, and 150 hussars of Rohan, and gave the chief command to Major-general David Dundas; with these, amounting in all to about 6500 infantry and of 1000 cavalry, the Allies drove the French from Wardenberg on the 30th, and marched towards Thuyt, which they attacked with great impetuosity, and although it was defended by the batteries of Bommel, which flanked it with a number of men who were stationed for its defence, the British forces carried it with the bayonet, and forced the French to cross the river, with the loss of four pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of men. A reinforcement of Austrian troops induced the Allies to try their strength with the Republican army. But General Pichegru opposed, them with too formidable a force to accomplish their views, and all their exertions were unable to ensure the victory.

The Duke of York left the British army, and returned to London, which announced that the Court of St. James's thought the conquest of Holland by the French unavoidable. While the Duke of York held the chief command, the army was in a wretched condition, and it could not be thought that its situation would be bettered, when under a foreigner (General Walmoden.) Patriotic subscriptions were raised in England, to supply the army with flannel vests, and other necessaries essential in that

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General Pichegru crosses the Waal in force, and takes Utrecht.

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country. The dreadful state of the sick and wounded became hopeless and appalling; and it was common in the army on a man being taken to the hospital, to say, "that he was sent to the shambles."

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

THE Allies called a council of war on the 4th of January, 1795, at which it was resolved to give up their positions on the river Waal. They spiked all the heavy cannon which they could not take away, and destroyed quantities of ammunition. On the 8th, however, a skirmish took place with the troops under General Dundas, and, during the day, the British and French repulsed each other no less than four times.

General Pichegru crossed the Waal with 70,000 men, and attacked the position occupied by General Walmoden, between Nimeguen and Arnheim. The Allies were defeated. Unprepared for resistance, or for flight, they were obliged to take shelter in open sheds, or in the open air, at this inclement season, and in their retreat vast numbers of men, women, and children, were frozen to death. The French took Utrecht without opposition, for the troops in the pay of Great Britain had retired by the way of Amersfort to Zutphen. Rotterdam sur-

rendered on the 18th, and Dort followed it on the next day.

The Princess of Orange and the younger female branches of the family escaped on the 15th, with the plate, jewels, and whatever else of value they could carry off. The Stadtholder and the hereditary Prince of Orange did not leave Holland till the 19th, the day on which Dort surrendered to General Pichegru. His Serene Highness got into an open boat at Scheveling, having only three men with him who were acquainted with rowing, but he arrived at Harwich on the 21st in safety. The Stadtholder did not leave the Hague without much opposition; for the French party insisted he should be responsible for all the troubles of the country. He was indebted to the fidelity of his horse body guards, and a regiment of Swiss, for his escape; they fired upon the people, and his flight was secured at the expense of the lives of some of the most forward patriots.

Dr. Kraayenhoff, who had been banished for his anti-stadtholderian sentiments, arrived at Amsterdam on the 17th of January, with a letter from the Republican commander in chief, that the people should be prepared to receive the French army; and on the 19th that valuable city was taken possession of by only thirty hussars. In every square the French planted the tree of liberty, and decorated the Dutchmen's hats with tri-coloured cockades.

On the 20th General Pichegru marched into Amsterdam with 5000 men. A proclamation was issued the day before, declaring to the world, "That the United Provinces were free and independent!"

The surrender of Amsterdam was followed by Leyden and Harlaem. On the 30th of January the French took

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**The French Army enter Amsterdam.**

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possession of Flushing, Middleburgh, and the island of Walcheren. By order from the states, Breda and Williamstadt opened their gates to the Republicans, by whom they were besieged.

Bergen-op-Zoom was garrisoned by 4000 men, in which was included the 87th regiment, belonging to Great Britain; but the States General, having ordered every garrisoned town to submit to the French, in consequence of the Stadtholder's abdication, produced its immediate capitulation. The Governor, however, wished that the British regiment might be allowed to return home; the French General would not comply, and they were kept prisoners of war. The entire province of Zeeland submitted to General Michaud.

The French Generals asked for a large supply of provisions and clothing for the soldiers, and the French Republic pledged itself to pay the value. A proclamation issued by the States-General at the Hague, stated that this demand was made in the language of an ally. It was by the prudence and humanity of Pichegru, that these changes in Holland were so ably effected. The French entered Amsterdam in small divisions; and the whole way from the river Waal to that city, was covered with officers and men, who looked more like travellers than warriors.

The British army was, during this time, pursued by the Republican army, consisting of more than 30,000 men. General Abercrombie conducted the retreat well, but his troops were in a miserable condition, and wanted almost every thing they should have had. The occasional thaws delayed his progress, and made his situation much more deplorable, for his half-famished troops were often obliged to get through mire and water that reached nearly



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The British Army embark at Bremen for England.

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to their knapsacks. Numbers of the sick were left behind in their route; and it is thought that from 12,000 men, of which the army consisted when they began the retreat, it was reduced to half that number in the beginning of February. In the march from Amersfort 900 men were frozen to death, besides great numbers of women and children. It took 160 waggons to remove the sick. Many, who were incapable of being removed, were left behind. At last, on the 12th of February, the Army crossed the Emms at Rheine, and prosecuted their march without interruption till the 24th of the month, at which time the posts of Nienhuys and Velthuys, chiefly defended by Emigrants, were forced by the Republicans. The division of the British army under Lord Cathcart (who had taken a more westerly route), was doomed to suffer much more, his rear being continually harassed by the advance of the Republicans. He everywhere met with losses from the unpopularity of the Orange interest. The British army arrived at Bremen on the 27th and 28th of March, and remained there till the 10th of April, when they embarked for England.

The campaign on the Rhine shewed nothing very brilliant. The Republican troops continued a long time in a state of inactivity; they however took Fort du Rhin, which protected Manheim. The surrender of Manheim saved it from the horrors of a bombardment. The troops which had been occupied at Fort du Rhin, reinforced those before Mentz; but the siege did not take place till the ensuing summer.

The French penetrated into the north-east part of the bishoprick of Munster, and after a dreadful engagement they became masters of Bentheim. On the 31st of March,

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Unparalleled Successes of the Republicans.

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they beat the Austrians with much loss, and fixed themselves at Binen. The Combined Powers appear to have lost all their energy, whilst the success of the French was unlimited.

The French thought the port of Rosas, in Catalonia, a place of great importance; but before its reduction it was necessary to get possession of Fort Bouton, which commanded the bay; an object which the Republicans gained with the utmost valour and intrepidity. The great floods, from the melting of the snow, with incessant rains, delayed the operations of the besiegers, and they were inactive for twenty-three days. It being impossible to open the second parallel, a strong battery was erected, and on the 3d of January they began the attack upon the city. The garrison embarked in the night, leaving only 540 men to defend the city, who instantly surrendered. On the 5th of May, 3000 Spaniards having appeared on the side of Sistellia, and shewed an intention to surround the Republicans, were routed with great slaughter.

Were we to enumerate the various victories of the Republican arms, we should swell our work much beyond its intended limits. We shall therefore briefly state, that Carnot, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, appeared at the bar of the Convention, and gave in a long list of victories, which was ordered to be printed and circulated to the armies of the Republic, as a stimulus to further exertions. This account, though highly exaggerated, was equally surprising, as they were achieved during a period of only seventeen months.

In the year 1795 (14th March) an action was fought in the Mediterranean, between a British fleet, commanded by Admiral Hotham, consisting of 14 sail of the line and

The Capture of two French Line of Battle Ships by Admiral Hotham.

three frigates, and a Republican fleet of 15 sail of the line and three frigates. When the hostile fleets had come in sight of each other, Admiral Hotham gave the signal for a general chase the next day, when one of the French line of battle ships was seen without her topmasts, of which the *Inconstant* availed herself, and attacked, raked, and harassed her dreadfully, till the *Agamemnon* came up, when the French ship was quite disabled. But the British vessels being at a great distance from their own fleet, were obliged to leave her, when they saw more of the enemy's ships coming to assist her.

On the morning of the 14th they discovered the disabled ship towed by another, so far to leeward of their own fleet as to give a chance that they might be cut off. For this purpose nothing was left unattempted, and the French were so situated as to give them up for lost, or come to a general engagement. They made a weak attempt to support them; they were cut off by the *Bedford* and *Captain*, and deserted by the main body of the fleet. The captured ships were *la Ca-ira* of 80 guns, and *le Censeur* of 74.

Admiral Cornwallis, with five ships of the line, and two frigates, fell in, on the 7th of June, with a fleet of merchant ships, convoyed by three ships of the line and six frigates; and although the ships of war made their escape, he was lucky enough to capture eight merchantmen, laden with wine and military stores. But, on the 16th, near the *Penmarks*, a signal was made from the *Phaeton* of an enemy's fleet in sight, which consisted of thirteen sail of the line and two brigs, besides a cutter and several frigates; a force which it would have been madness to attempt to face. The wind changed in favour of the enemy, so that, by nine o'clock, the next morn-

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**Lord Bridport captures three French Line of Battle Ships.**

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ing, the ships in front of the enemy's line began firing upon the *Mars*, who kept up a running fire the whole day, as did the rest of the British fleet. Admiral Cornwallis escaped from this dangerous situation by an excellent manoeuvre; he threw out signals of a large fleet of British ships being at hand, so that the French Admiral did not think it prudent to pursue him, and he escaped with very little loss.

This fleet was, on the 23d of the same month, attacked by Lord Bridport, who had a fleet of fourteen sail of the line and eight frigates. On the 22d, about day-break, a signal was made by the *Nymph* and *Astrea*, that an enemy's fleet was in sight; but the British Admiral seeing they had no intention to bring him to an action, hove out a signal for chasing them with four of the swiftest sailing ships, which was continued during the whole day and the ensuing night, but they were almost becalmed. They came up with the Republican fleet on the morning of the 23d, when an action took place at six o'clock, and lasted till three in the afternoon, when the British Admiral took the *Alexander* (formerly belonging to England), the *Formidable*, and the *Tigré*. Being close in with the shore, his lordship was unable to extend his conquest, and found it attended with much difficulty to keep those he had already captured. The rest of the enemy's squadron got safe into l'Orient. The loss of the British in this action has been stated at 31 men killed, and 115 wounded; that of the Republicans is unknown.

An event of great importance to the interest of France, and fatal to that of the Combined Powers, took place; for, on the 10th, it was announced to the Convention, that the Committee of Public Safety had made peace with the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Three days after, the Con-

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Peace with the Grand Duke of Tuscany ratified.

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vention discussed the merits of this treaty, when some of the violent Mountain party denied the competency of the Committee to negotiate a peace unknown to the Convention; but it was determined, that all which obstructed the establishment of peace was highly impolitic, and against the prosperity of the nation. The competency of the Committee was acknowledged almost unanimously, and the treaty ratified amidst the plaudits of the members and spectators.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

THE French Convention, on the last day of the year 1794, considered a decree that had been passed, that no quarter should be given to British, Hanoverian, or Spanish troops, and which of course would not allow the French troops to take the surrender of any of those nations, but consigned the individuals, who sued to the Republicans for mercy, to deliberate slaughter. The Convention passed this decree in the full idea, that they should be able to destroy as well as subdue their enemies; but, in spite of the exertions of the Commissioners who attended the armies, it was approved by very few of the soldiers, and it evinced no extraordinary effect in favour of the Republican arms. The same Convention in which this decree arose, and by whom it was declared a law, took advan-

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**Peace signed between France and Prussia.**

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tage of its weakness to regain their credit for humanity by repealing it. Some of the members made long speeches on the occasion, and its repeal was decreed with as loud and general plaudits as it had passed.

The anniversary of the death of the King was kept as a festival in the Thuilleries. A scaffold was raised before the Statue of Liberty; the President of the Convention made a speech; the populace exclaimed, "*Vive la Republique ! Vive la Convention !*" and a general discharge of artillery finished the ceremony.

A disagreement which had taken place between the Prussian and Austrian commanders and their troops, arose to a great height, and was much increased by a report circulated through Switzerland by a Prussian agent, that the court of Berlin had concluded a treaty of peace with the French Republic. This gained credit; and it was so much applauded, or so little blamed, that a negotiation was actually opened at Basle by three agents from the King of Prussia, and by a plenipotentiary, publicly avowed as such, whom M. Barthelemy met at Basle.

It is supposed that this negotiation would have been retarded, if not broken off, had not the Committee of Public Safety agreed to the admission of secret articles. After being warmly discussed by both parties, it was finally signed; a treaty favourable to France, since that country got all it desired. To the King of Prussia it was not so favourable, since he thereby lost the opportunity of taking the lead in adjusting and arranging the affairs of the continent.

The peace with Prussia was instantly followed by a treaty of peace with the court of Madrid. Prussia having withdrawn from the coalition, the troops of the Republic were hastily marching towards the capital of the

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 Peace signed between France and Spain.
 

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Spanish dominions, so that the Spanish Cabinet found it necessary to order M. d'Yriarte to come to immediate terms with the enemy. So hastily was this matter conducted, that peace was concluded between M. d'Yriarte and M. Barthelemy, at Basle, before General Servan from the Committee of Public Safety, and M. d'Iranda, from the court of Spain, had a single meeting at Bayonne, the place appointed to meet at. It was signed by M. Barthelemy and M. d'Yriarte on the 22d of July; by virtue of which the French surrendered all their conquests on the territories of Spain, and restored all the artillery and ammunition they took in the conquered towns, cities, or garrisons; and Spain restored all their possessions in the island of St. Domingo. The French Republic also agreed that the King of Spain should mediate for Portugal, Sardinia, Naples, and the Duke of Parma, with all the princes of Italy. The Dutch Republic was included in the treaty, so that a severe blow was aimed at the power of Great Britain in the West Indies, and its naval schemes in the Mediterranean were much annoyed.

Switzerland kept a neutrality during the various changes of the French Revolution; but many of the cantons shewed a disposition in no way friendly to the Republican cause. Basle did not acknowledge France till the treaty was signed between it and Prussia; for, from the 10th of August 1792, till that time, M. Barthelemy was only known there as a private individual. The Chancellor of Basle, M. Ochs, was active in bringing about a friendly reconciliation between France and Prussia, and in his house the treaty with Spain was signed. The rapid manner in which the forces of the Republic proceeded from victory to victory powerfully effected the political sentiments of

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Execution of Fouquier Tinville and others.

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the Swiss cantons, many immediately expressing their attachment to the interest of France.

At this time M. Fouquier Tinville, the president of the late revolutionary tribunal, three of the judges, the public accuser, and eleven of the jurors, were found guilty of injustice and cruelty, and executed in the Place de Grave. These horrible men had lists of proscription daily made out, and those who executed them, if they did not find those named in the lists within the houses, always took care to bring away their number, without regard to their persons. The committee of Nantz seized all who were rich, and men of talents and humanity. The scenes of execution at this place were horrid in the extreme; in one of the prisons were 800 women, and as many children, in want of every thing; they were shot in crowds, and drowned in the river Loire in lighters and vessels crammed with the unfortunate victims. The accounts given by those who were concerned in these dreadful transactions are hardly credible. One would almost think that the human race had changed its character, and degenerated into worse than brutes.

The evidence given on the trials of those who held the reins of power at Nantz was heart-breaking; women at the latest period of their time, and infants, were put into the lighters to be drowned. This mode of execution the wretch Carrier and his associates used to laugh at, and call National Baptisms, Immersions, and Bathings. At one place one of the witnesses saw the bodies of seventy-five women, from the age of fifteen to eighteen, lying uncovered: but the soul sickens at the recital of scenes, such as are described even by those concerned in them.

Soon after the execution of these ruffians an insurrection was organised in Paris; the streets were posted with



bills, charging the Convention with keeping bread from the people. The *generale* was beat to arms, the Convention met, and the utmost tumult ensued. The insurgents rushed into the hall of the Convention, and the galleries were in an uproar; Ferrand, one of the representatives, was assassinated, and his head placed on a pike. Almost all the members left these horrible scenes; the few who stayed were the friends of the Jacobins, and immediately, at the request of the triumphant faction, passed several decrees against the moderate party. In the afternoon, however, the armed force of Paris drove out the insurgents. The president thanked the citizens for saving the Convention, and their first business was to repeal the decrees demanded during the tumult, and to adopt measures for punishing the conspirators. In the mean time it was decreed, that some of the deputies, who had favoured the insurgents, should be arrested.

The Jacobins were not subdued: the man who murdered Ferrand was taken, and condemned to death. On his way to execution he was rescued by the *sans culottes* of the Fauxbourg de St. Antoine. An armed force marched against the suburb, and a conflict ensued; the military were compelled to retire; but at last they made the inhabitants surrender the assassin, and give up their arms and cannon. A military commission having been formed, many of the leaders were tried and executed.

The insurrection did not, however, confine itself to Paris; it broke out at Toulon, and the insurgents took their way towards Marseilles; they were, however, intercepted, and upwards of 300 Toulonese prisoners taken to Marseilles. The result was the entire submission of Toulon, and attaching it to the interests of the Republic.

During this year died the unfortunate son and heir ap-

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Death of the Dauphin.—The Princess delivered to the Emperor.

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parent of Louis XVI. who had been for a long time in a bad state of health. Ever since the autumn of 1792, he had been detained a prisoner in the Temple. Confinement brought on a swelling in his knee and left wrist, which caused a fever, that ended his life on the 9th of June. It has often been said, that he was poisoned by order of the Convention; but as no confirmation of such a report ever reached us, we are induced to suppose his death was natural. The Convention soon after offered to liberate the Princess, the only surviving branch of that unfortunate family, in place of the four commissioners who were arrested by General Dumourier. The Emperor of Germany agreed with this proposal, and the Princess was delivered at Basle to the Austrian envoy, the commissioners at the same time being restored to their country.

The disturbances by which Paris was lately convulsed, and the factions apparent even in the bosom of the Convention, seemed to demand a system of government, the executive power of which might be efficient to triumph over opposition, and quell insurrection in the bud. The Convention were constantly busied in forming a new constitution, and on the 23d of June it was presented by the Committee of Eleven, when all the articles were separately discussed. Some were sent back to the Committee for their further examination. The Convention restored the Primary Assemblies; and the whole system might be said to have been totally changed. After two months the Convention declared, on the 23d of August, that the constitution was completed, and they sent it to the Primary Assemblies for their acceptance and confirmation.

From this constitution the greatest hopes were entertained. The Republicans looked on it as a defence

## Description of Corsica.

against the encroachments of powerful individuals on the liberties of the people, and as securing the enjoyment of every political privilege.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

HAVING detailed the leading events of the revolution, we will just give a short description of the island which claims the birth-place of the Hero of these pages.

The island of Corsica claims the notice of the historian, as being that country which gave birth to NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Corsica is situated in the Mediterranean sea, and divided from the island of Sardinia by the Straits of Bonifacio; it is about 170 miles east of Toulon, 100 miles south of Genoa, and 80 miles south west of Leghorn. It is 150 miles in length from north to south, and from 40 to 50 miles in breadth; it is about 500 miles in circumference, and is bordered by many bays and promontories.

The atmosphere is pure and healthy, and it is one of the most temperate countries in the south of Europe. The harbours are very numerous; on the north it has Conturi; on the west St. Fiorenzo, Isola, Rossa, Calvi, and Ajaccio; on the south Bonifacio; and on the east Porto Vecchio, Bastia, and Macinajo. A chain of mountains rises beyond Aleria, stretching across the island

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Description of Corsica.

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from east to west, but not dividing it in equal parts, although the great division of Corsica is into the *Di qua dei Monti*, the country on this side the mountains, and the *Di la dei Monti*, the country on the other side the mountains, reckoning from Bastia: the coast is diversified by mountainous rocky hills, covered with vines, olives, and mulberries, and by plains with rich waving lands, abounding with corn and pasturage: the province of Balagna may be called the garden of Corsica; near St. Fiorenzo, however, are some low marshy grounds, which render that town very unhealthy; the interior of the island is, in general, mountainous, but interspersed with fruitful vallies and large tracts of inhabited woodland. The farmers live in villages, so that there is scarcely a detached farmhouse to be seen.

The island is extremely well watered; it has many lakes and rivers, but the rivers are not navigable, their currents are very rapid, and the torrents, after great rains, bring down fragments from the mountains large enough to dash a vessel to pieces; their produce is confined to trouts and eels, but on the coast are sturgeons and pilchards of exquisite taste, and remarkably fine oysters. The animals of the island are horses of a very small breed; asses, and mules, very small, but strong; and black cattle, which are larger in proportion, but they give very little milk, and their flesh is tough; the natives use oil instead of butter, but in some parts, make quantities of cheese. Goats browse on the hills, and the sheep are very fine, the pasture being adapted to the smaller animals. The forests abound with deer, and an animal like a stag, with horns like a ram; it is wild and called a *muffoli*. The Corsicans delight in hunting the wild

## Description of Corsica.—Ajaccio the birth place of Napoleon.

boar, for which they have a breed of dogs peculiarly excellent; they have hares and foxes, but neither rabbits nor wolves; they have plenty of birds and game, and no poisonous animals. The forests are extensive, with every kind of forest trees; pomegranate trees grow to great perfection, as well as the mulberry. The grain is wheat, barley, rye, and millet: honey is obtained in vast quantities, but the taste is rather bitter. In the island are mines of lead, iron, copper, silver, alum, and saltpetre; granite, porphyry, jasper, and rock chrystal are very abundant; and quantities of coral are fished up on the coast.

Bastia, which is on the east side of the island, is regarded as the capital of Corsica; it has a fine appearance from the sea, being built on the declivity of a hill: its castle commands the town and harbour; its cathedral is not remarkable, but the church of St. John is a fine building; the port, however, cannot be entered by ships of war. Corte is in the centre of the island, and is properly the capital; it is situated partly at the foot and partly on the declivity of a rock, in a plain, surrounded by mountains of a prodigious height, and at the confluence of the rivers Tavignano and Restonica. Upon the point of a rock which rises above the rest, is the castle, with only one winding passage to climb up to it, and where only two persons can go abreast; this town has a university.

Ajaccio on the west side of the island, and the handsomest town, gave birth to Napoleon Bonaparte; it has many good streets and beautiful walks, with a citadel and palace. The inhabitants of Ajaccio are the genteelst and best-bred people in the island; it has the remains of

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Description of Corsica.

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a colony of Greeks, who settled there in 1677. The harbour is wide, safe, and commodious, and has an excellent mole.

Calvi has nothing remarkable but a large and convenient harbour. Corsica has several other towns, but those are the principal.

The Greeks called this island Callista and Cyrenus ; the Romans knew it by its present name ; it was first inhabited by a colony of Phenicians, and afterwards by the Phoceans, the Etruscans, and the Carthagenians successively ; then the Romans, who settled two colonies here. After the fall of the Roman empire, it passed through the hands of the Goths, the Greek Emperors, the Lombards, and the Saracens.

In the eighth century, Corsica was conquered by Charles Martel, who gave it to the See of Rome, by whom it was transferred to the Pisans, and from whom it was conquered by Genoa. The Genoese used the natives so tyrannically that they were often in a state of rebellion, which, however, for want of a leader, was soon suppressed.

Henry II. of France, assisted by Solymán the Magnificent, Emperor of the Turks, invaded the island in the year 1558, and were joined by the insurgent inhabitants ; but the Genoese, assisted by Charles V. of Spain, prevented their success. The war was finished by an accommodation honourable to the Corsicans. The power of the Genoese was intolerable ; they used all the rigour that arbitrary power could inflict, and practised every sort of extortion and cruelty ; they degraded the noble families, sent crowds of natives to the galleys for trifling offences, prohibited all foreign trade with the natives, and placed over them needy adventurers for governors,

whose desperate fortunes rendered them haughty, avaricious, and tyrannical.

The Corsicans were despised, oppressed, and plundered until the year 1729, when a poor woman being unable to pay to a Genoese collector a Paoli, (a piece of money of about the value of five pence English currency), her effects were seized. The inhabitants espoused her cause; a conflict ensued; they became masters of the capital, and proceeded to elect military chiefs. The Genoese, unable to conquer them alone, solicited, and obtained the powerful assistance of the Emperor Charles VI. The Corsicans were again compelled to enter into an accommodation with their tyrants; on condition, however, that the Emperor would ratify the treaty, which was signed in 1758.

This treaty was violated the next year, and the Corsicans again took up arms. They chose for their general, Giafferi, a military chief in the last insurrection; and with him associated Giacinto Paoli, a gentleman of good family, of distinguished merit, and the father of the celebrated General Pascal Paoli. During this war, in the year 1736, Theodore Baron Neuhoff appeared in the island, with assurances to the Corsicans of very powerful assistance. This singular man was of the county of Marck, in Westphalia. He was educated in the French service, and travelled into England, the Netherlands, and Italy. He was a man of abilities and address; and having an idea of becoming king of Corsica, he went to Tunis, where he obtained a supply of money, arms, and ammunition. He then repaired to Leghorn, and wrote a letter to the Corsican chiefs, Giafferi and Paoli, offering great assistance to the nation, if they would elect him their king. From the favourable manner in which this

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**Theodore proclaimed King of Corsica.**

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application was received, he landed in Corsica in the spring of 1736. He was a man of a very stately appearance, and the Turkish dress, which he wore, added to the dignity of his mein. He brought with him about 1000 zechins of Tunis, besides arms and ammunition. His manners were so engaging, and his promises of foreign assistance so plausible and magnificent, that he was immediately proclaimed king. He assumed every mark of royal dignity, had his guards and officers of state, conferred titles of honour, and coined money, both silver and copper. He blocked up the Genoese fortifications, and was neither inactive nor unsuccessful in his warlike operations; but the assistance he had promised not arriving, the Corsicans shewed marks of disapprobation. In eight months after his election he found it expedient to leave them; assuring them that he would go himself in search of the long expected succours; and, having settled a plan of government in his absence, he quitted the island in November. The courts of Great Britain and France had forbidden their subjects, by proclamation, from giving any assistance to the Corsicans. He went, therefore, to Holland, where he got credit to a great amount from several rich merchants, who trusted him with cannon and other warlike stores, under the charge of a supercargo. With these he returned to Corsica in 1739; and, on his arrival, says the Historian of Corsica, "he put to death the supercargo, that he might not be troubled from demands being made upon him."—The French, however, were so powerful in the island, that, although Theodore threw in his supply of warlike stores, he was afraid to venture his person, the Genoese having set a high price upon his head. He chose, therefore, to give up his throne, and to sacrifice



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Theodore thrown into prison in England.—His Death.

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his ambition to his safety. After experiencing great changes of fortune, he came to England; but his situation here grew wretched, and he was reduced to such distress as to be thrown into prison for debt.

The late Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, greatly interested himself in procuring a subscription in favour of the unfortunate Theodore, and a very handsome sum was produced.

He was, at last, freed from prison by an act of insolvency, in consequence of which he made over Corsica for the benefit of his creditors, and it was actually registered accordingly. He died soon after, and was buried in the church yard of St. Anne's, Soho, where a plain monument is erected to him, with the following inscription :

Near this place is interred Theodore, King of Corsica, who died in this parish, December 11, 1756, immediately after leaving the King's Bench Prison, by the benefit of an act of insolvency; in consequence of which he registered his kingdom of Corsica for the benefit of his creditors.

The Grave, great Teacher ! to a level brings  
 Heroes and beggars, galley-slaves and kings ;  
 But Theodore this Moral learn'd, ere dead—  
 Fate pour'd its lesson on his living head,  
 Bestow'd a kingdom, and deny'd him bread. }

Theodore left a son, who lived many years in this country, under the name of Colonel Frederick, and who shot himself in the year 1796, in great distress of mind, occasioned by the indigence of his circumstances, under the portal of Westminster Abbey. The Colonel had a son, an officer in the British army, who was killed in the American war.

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Paoli forms a regular system of administration.

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The Genoese now applied to the French King, who sent an army into the island in 1738, and in 1740 effectually reduced it. At the end of the year 1741, the French having more important objects in view, withdrew their forces from the island, after having put the Genoese in complete possession of it. But the moment that the French had left the island, the Corsicans resumed their arms; and, from that period, the war continued under different chiefs till 1755, when Pascal Paoli was elected to the chief command. Great Britain had ordered her subjects to give no aid to the Corsicans; but, in 1745, from a revolution in her political connections, some English ships of war, with a Corsican chief on board, were sent into the Mediterranean, as auxiliaries to the King of Sardinia. These ships attacked Bastia and Fiorenzo, of which they put the Corsicans in possession. At the peace, however, in 1763, a severe proclamation was issued by the British court, in which these brave islanders were styled rebels. Paoli had the address to engage all ranks to provide what was necessary for carrying on the war with spirit, and drove the Genoese to the remotest corners of the island. He corrected innumerable abuses, and formed a regular system of administration. He civilized the manners of the Corsicans, established a university, and settled schools in every village of the kingdom. He encouraged the Corsicans to apply to agriculture, commerce, and civil occupations, which had been interrupted by the long continuance of the war. The nation became firm and united; and, had not the French again interposed, the Corsicans would have entirely driven the Genoese from the island. But, when Paoli was on the point of successfully terminating the war, the Genoese, in 1764

made a treaty with the French, by which the latter engaged to garrison the fortified towns of Corsica for the term of four years. In 1767, the Genoese sold their sovereignty to the French King, who, to the garrisons already in Corsica, sent a powerful body of troops, under the command of the Count de Vaux. Flattering manifestoes were published to induce the Corsicans to become subjects of France; but filled with the love of liberty, they defeated the French in several engagements. Fresh troops being sent from France, the contest at last became too unequal; the natives, reduced by their victories, were impelled to submit; and in June 1769, the brave Paoli, forced to abandon his country to its fate, embarked on board an English ship, landed at Leghorn, and, going soon after to London, lived there many years, protected and supported by the British court.

Corsica being thus subdued, the French commander new modelled the government of the island, which was placed under the parliament of Provence. The natives quitted their country in great numbers; while the most intrepid of those that remained, took shelter in the mountainous parts, and seized every opportunity of falling upon their enemies, when separated into small parties; and they put to death all the French that fell into their hands. As nothing could overcome the spirit of the natives, the most dreadful cruelties were exercised upon all who were made prisoners; and by the year 1778, when the French King, who had enslaved these islanders, declared himself the protector and guardian of the liberties of America, which in the end proved so fatal to himself, the poor, friendless and deserted Corsicans were nearly extirpated.

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Corsica decreed to be the 83d Department of France.

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The revolution of France in 1789, caused at last a change in the political aspect of Corsica. From the time when it was conquered, this island was retained in subjection only by military despotism. They never confirmed the infamous contract by which a nation was transferred from the dominion of Genoa to that of France. The meeting of the states general at Versailles had kindled in the bosoms of these brave men the hopes of being reinstated in their rights. These hopes were followed by a rumour that they were once more to be given to the detested dominion of Genoa; or, at least that they were to be kept as a servile appendage to a land of freedom. In such a state of doubt the passions of the multitude are easily excited. They proposed to form a national guard; the citizens of Bastia assembled for that purpose in the church of St. John; the army marched to disperse them, and in the contest some lives were lost. In this state the island continued, when deputies (among whom was Pascal Paoli, who had just revisited his native country) appeared at the bar of the National Constituent Assembly, entreating in the name of the people of Corsica, that they might be irrevocably united, by a decree of the legislature, to the French nation, as a constituent part of the empire. This request was too reasonable, and too flattering to the Assembly, not to be directly complied with; and Corsica was decreed to be an eighty-third department of France. This was followed by a motion of the Count de Mirabeau (who regretted that his youth had been disgraced in sharing in the conquest of this island) to restore all who had emigrated, except for civil crimes, to their rank, their rights, and their property. The illustrious Paoli, who had so often appeared as the general in

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The Corsicans dissatisfied with the Measures of the Convention.

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chief, was now satisfied to be commandant of the national guard at Bastia.

In the year 1790, Bonaparte got the command of a battalion of national guards at Ajaccio, and did duty in his native town, until he re-entered the corps of artillery, and for his services at Toulon received the rank of general. This instance of wisdom and liberality in the first National Assembly of France, who, when they renounced all views of war and conquest, seemed desirous of establishing the blessings of real liberty, seemed to promise a lasting connection between France and Corsica. But when this Assembly was dissolved, their successors were men of very inferior talents and characters, and guided by less enlightened views. The events which followed the revolution of the 10th of August 1792, were not calculated to ensure the attachment of the Corsicans to the new Republic. Dissatisfaction with the measures of the French Convention, and particularly with those which evinced an intention to overthrow all religion, became so manifest, that it soon excited suspicion and roused to violence. On the 2d of April 1793, the popular society of Toulon accused General Paoli to the Convention, as a supporter of despotism. They stated that the general, along with the administrators of the department, had inflicted every hardship upon the patriots, and favoured the emigrants and refractory priests. They demanded that he should fall under the avenging sword of the law. The Convention decreed, that General Paoli and the Attorney General of Corsica should be ordered to the bar to give an account of their conduct.

The Convention received a letter from the commissioners sent to Corsica to arrest General Paoli, that they

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*Corsica transferred to the Dominion of Great Britain.*

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thought it not prudent to attempt it for the present, and in the same month a letter was read from the General, regretting that his extreme old age and bodily infirmities made it impossible for him to cross the sea and travel 200 leagues by land, to appear at the bar of the Convention, but offering to retire from his country, if it were thought necessary to the safety and peace of Corsica. In October, however, Paoli sent to Lord Hood for a few ships, to co-operate with him against the French in the island, and to attack the redoubt at Fornill, a post about two miles from the town of Florence. Captain Linzee, however, failed, from false information being given him respecting some cannon, which annoyed him from the town, and also from the want of ardour in the Corsicans, who had agreed to storm the posts on the land side: as, however, they never made the least movement to effect that service during the action, the whole force of the enemy was directed against the British.

In May, 1794, Lord Hood got the surrender of the town and citadel of Bastia, from Gentili the commandant, and in July the union of the island of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain was formally concluded. General Paoli assisted this measure by a very spirited address to the people. The town of Calvi surrendered on the 10th of August, after a siege of fifty-one days. Sir Gilbert Elliot was appointed Viceroy, and met the first parliament of Corsica on the 9th of February, 1795.

Thus was the country, which gave birth to Napoleon Bonaparte transferred to the dominion of Great Britain, at a time when the world was astonished by the progress of the French arms; when the plans of the British Government itself were frustrated by the subjugation of

Holland, and almost every country on the continent distressed in its means and resources.

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

BONAPARTE, after the siege of Toulon, where his actions were so conspicuous, and where he got the rank of General, was sent to Nice, but was arrested there by Belfroi, the deputy, who first displaced him from his command. He was accused of being a Terrorist, and being sanguinary towards the persecuted inhabitants: he was soon released, but lost his command in the artillery, although not discharged the service: he was offered a command in the infantry, but refused to accept it.

While he stayed at Nice the war offered materials of great value to a mind so filled with military enthusiasm: he was constantly employed, and spent much of the night in study.

When free from arrest, he went to Paris to state his complaints. Aubry, the representative, then at the head of the military department, refused him any more than the commission in the infantry he had been offered. Bonaparte demanded his discharge, which was refused: he then asked permission to retire to Constantinople, probably with a view of serving in the Turkish army, but this was likewise refused.

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**Bonaparte in London.—His Embarrassments.**

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In the year 1794 he got the command of an expedition against Ajaccio, his native town, in the island of Corsica, in which, however, he was repulsed by Masteria, a relation, who was at that time in the British service, and had served under General Elliot at the siege of Gibraltar. The object of the expedition being defeated, he returned to Paris.

It has been stated, that Bonaparte solicited a commission in the British army, which has as often been denied. It is however certain that Bonaparte was in England, but the object of his appearance here is not known. He lodged in the Adelphi, and remained in London but a short time. This information was procured from General Miranda, who says he visited him in England at the time. We state the circumstance on the authority of that General, the last time he was in this country, before his expedition to South America: it is likely, that the time when Bonaparte was here, was the middle of the year 1793; for the Convention suspecting him, whilst he commanded in Corsica, of tampering to surrender the island to the English, the deputies le Courbe, St. Michael, and two others, ordered his arrest: he quitted the army in consequence, and perhaps came to England immediately, and departed in time to be present at the siege of Toulon.

After Bonaparte had been removed from the artillery, and his ill success before Ajaccio, he remained in great obscurity, and laboured under much pecuniary embarrassment: his friends were not numerous, and he was often obliged for five or six livres to M. Guérin, a merchant at Marseilles; but the assistance he received from others was even still more trifling. His prospects were shaded by adversity, and he had no cer-



tain expectation of either employment or support, when, at the latter end of the year 1795, he had again hopes of being called into action.

Whilst the forty-eight sections of Paris seemed unanimous in their acceptance of the new constitution, fifty-six of them rejected the decree that two-thirds of the members of the Convention should be re-elected for the new legislature, and the decree which declared, that if the departments did not re-elect two-thirds, the Convention would form an elective body, and supply the deficiency by its own nomination. These two obnoxious laws were denominated the laws of the 5th and 13th Fructidor (22d and 30th August), and were sent into the departments with the constitutional act. The scene of horror and tumult which prevailed in Paris was dreadful. The warmest debates took place, and the spirit of the Parisians was imitated by many of the departments.

During these transactions, the primary assemblies of almost all the departments of the Republic signified their acceptance of the constitution, the decrees being blamed by some, and approved by others. This gave an opportunity to the Convention to declare, that the majority of each department was in favour of the decrees; this was disputed by the sections; who, having got leave to inspect the records, insisted that the majority, if their voice was fairly ascertained, would be in favour of a new legislature; because they discovered that where a whole primary assembly were unanimous for repealing the decrees, it was marked by the Convention as a single vote, although some of them consisted of 1500 or 2000 persons. But the simple truth did not meet the views of either. The Convention received the deputations with haughtiness and contempt, and often denied them admittance.

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The Convention declares itself in a state of permanency.

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The language of the sections and the schemes they seemed resolved to adopt, made the Convention claim the protection of a military force from the committees of government. The idea that no soldier would attack the life or rights of a fellow citizen, made the people of Paris pay little attention to the military preparations of the legislature. Means were declared to be necessary to bring the Convention within the bounds of reason and justice; and they were painted as a body of tyrants and assassins, still containing the murderers of the 2d of September, the conspirators of the 31st of May, the applauders of the assassination of the Gironde, the associates of the Mountain chiefs, and the actors of the decemviral tyranny.

This language was comparatively moderate. The re-establishment of revolutionary tribunals was strongly recommended; and it was proposed that every deputy should stand a trial, and no more evidence be required against him than his public conduct.

The arrests passed by the sections were annulled, and the commanders of the armed force were ordered not to obey them. The Convention declared itself in a state of permanence, and matters seemed to be fast coming to a crisis.

At seven o'clock in the evening, a municipal officer appeared with six dragoons, and two trumpeters, on the Place du Theatre Francois, to publish the decree, and, at the same time a crowd rushing from the theatre, increased that without, and hissings and hootings interrupted the ceremony; one of the heralds was attacked, and the flambeau he held extinguished. The Convention ordered the deputies to secure the electors who would not obey the law which ordered the closing of the

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General Menou superceded in his command of the Paris troops.

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assemblies. The electoral body, however, waited for the decree of the Convention to separate; for when the troops arrived, the place of meeting was empty.

The Convention issued a proclamation, which stated, that "after having exhausted all paternal means, they" were resolved to put an end to the shameful struggle, "between the general will of the people and a handful of Royalists."—"Friends to the laws! defenders of liberty!" it concluded, "listen to the voice of duty, and as soon as the cry of 'Aid to the law!' shall be heard, join the banners of virtue; at the sight of you the conspirators will fly, and peace and happiness will be raised upon the ruins of faction."

The Convention continued to order troops into the metropolis, and mingled with them some hundreds of the Terrorists who were confined in prison, from their mortal antipathy against the sections. Such a guard was loudly exclaimed against by the sections; for they conceived it a signal for the return of a government like that of Robespierre. General Menou, who commanded the military force of Paris, was despatched to where the sections met, to effect their dispersion, or take away their arms. The Deputy, who was chosen to visit the sections, and General Menou had long conferences with them, when they said they would gladly lay down their arms, if the Convention would disarm the Terrorists; but, as they had no authority to come to terms with the sections, the troops were withdrawn on both sides, which offended the Convention, and for which General Menou was superceded.

Barras, who was charged with the direction of the armed force, was appointed in his place, and he deter-

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Barras succeeds Menou, and appoints Bonaparte second in command.

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mined to avail himself of the assistance of a general in whom he could confide. Who could be better qualified than Napoleon Bonaparte, who had served at Toulon with such success, as to confirm that opinion he entertained of his talents, which had made him appoint him a general? there was no time for hesitation; he sent immediately for Bonaparte, and gave him the second command of the Conventional troops then in Paris.

The sections beat to arms, and appeared more serious in the military preparations. The inhabitants were alarmed at midnight by the sound of drums, and a knocking at almost every door, with the incessant cry of "To arms, to arms, citizens! every one to his section—"liberty or death!" This produced no material effect, as the people did not think that the assault was to be at night. About noon, however, the next day, the people were again in motion, in order to march their forces against the Thuilleries.

The troops of the Convention reached from the Pont Neuf, along the quays on the right bank of the Seine, to the Champs Elysées, and continued to the Boulevards; the people occupied the Rue St. Honoré, the Place de Vendôme, St. Roch, and the Place du Palais Royal. The Convention deceived the people, in the morning, by sending to the sections, and in receiving and agitating propositions for peace, whilst they gained time to reinforce their positions, and encourage the troops to fire on the people when ordered. The debates in the Convention, and messages and letters to General Danican, who commanded the troops of the Parisians, kept the people discussing instead of fighting; and, to their astonishment, the post of the citizens at St. Roch.

was suddenly fired upon in the Cul de Sac Dauphin, and a dreadful scene of slaughter began.

The citizens on the Northern side of the river were in close and terrible combat, those on the opposite were endeavouring to reach the Convention by the quay of Voltaire, though the cannon of the Convention, which defended each end of the bridge, presented to their view a most threatening appearance. The conflict on the one side of the river was not long; for the commander of the column having tried to force the passage without artillery, and but ill provided with ammunition, a discharge of musketry was made, which quickly dispersed his followers: the artillery was commanded by Bonaparte. The battle near the Thuilleries, where the Convention was sitting, raged with great fury, the cannon being frequently seized by the insurgents, and as often retaken by the national troops. Though the sectionaries had no artillery, they made a gallant opposition, and, after many repulses, still returned to the charge, and did not retreat till after a bloody conflict of four hours. Within two hours, the firing of the cannon was heard again, which did not end till midnight, when the troops of the Convention were masters of the field of battle, and routed the citizens at every post. The church of St. Roch, and the Palais d'Egalité, were forced; the gates were opened by the cannon, and the people who had sought refuge within the walls, were slaughtered. The few deputies who were in the Convention, staid in their places with their president at their head. Many of the others mixed with the troops without. The number of people slain on this memorable day, has been stated at 8000.





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The National Convention dissolved.—Their actions.

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Barras, having had the chief command, received all the honours and the credit that the Convention fixed to the services of the day. The distinguished share that Bonaparte had in the affair, was eclipsed by the superior pretension of his superior. The unpopularity of the measure was not likely to endear him to the Parisians; but he acquired notice, and Barras was at length so well pleased with his conduct, that he took an early opportunity of rewarding him.

A commission of five members, was appointed to consider the most effectual means for saving the country; and as this had been almost a watch word for carrying into effect some revolutionary measure, it caused on that account a great degree of alarm.

The report given in by the commission, recommending the sitting of the Convention to be permanent, was annulled; and, on the day fixed by law, the 27th October, the president declared that the National Convention was dissolved.

This Convention continued 37 months and four days sitting, they put to death the successor of an hundred kings, and, in one day, broke that sceptre, for which fourteen centuries had procured almost a religious veneration; they made France an armed nation, and sent a million and a half of men into the field, who defeated the combination of all the great powers of the continent, and subdued Holland. They enacted 11,210 laws, and, 360 conspirators, and 140 insurrections were denounced, and 18,613 persons ended their lives by the guillotine. The civil war at Lyons cost 31,200 men, and that at Marseilles 729. At Toulon 14,325 lives were destroyed; and in the South, after the fall of Robespierre, 740 individuals perished. The war in La Vendee caused



the destruction of 900,000 men, and more than 20,000 dwellings. Four thousand seven hundred and ninety persons committed suicide, through terror or the dreadful enormities that were committed; and 3400 women died of premature deliveries, from the same cause; 20,000 human beings perished of famine, and 1550 were driven to incurable insanity. In the colonies 124,000 white men, women and children, and 60,000 people of colour were massacred, and two towns and 3200 habitations burnt. The loss of men by the war alone, is estimated at upwards of 800,000, and 123,789 Emigrants, were for ever excluded from entering France. These were the events that happened during the time of that Convention, which closed its sittings, by decreeing, that the punishment of death should be abolished at the termination of the war!

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## CHAPTER XXX.

THE Convention finished its sittings, by electing itself into a body, to complete the members wanting in the Council of Five Hundred. On the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients being formed, they retired to their respective halls. The Council of Ancients appointed Larevelliere Lepaux, their president; and the Council of five hundred elected Danon for their president. A list of 50 names was given to the Council of Ancients, from which they were to elect an Exe-

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**Bonaparte visits the Director Carnot.**

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cutive Directory of five persons, and Lepaux, Letourneur, Rewbel, Sieyes, and Barras, were declared duly elected. Sieyes declined the office, and Carnot was appointed in his room.

The palace of the Luxembourg was fixed on as the residence of the Executive Directory, and was to be named the Palace of the Directory. The dress of the Directors was very magnificent ; the constitution decreed that they should wear it at all times when they gave audience ; the legislative authorities were also habited in their halls in very showy dresses.

When the Directory were inaugurated, Bonaparte, as General of the armed force of Paris, waited on each of the five Directors. Carnot, who succeeded Sieyes, lived at the top of a house beneath the ruins of the Luxembourg, his official apartments not being ready ; it was on a Monday that Bonaparte presented himself, the day when a celebrated writer regularly visited Carnot. This person was singing an air, accompanied by a young lady on the piano-forte. The appearance of Bonaparte, a little well-made olive complexioned youth, amid five or six tall young men, who paid him great attention, was a great contrast : he entered the room and bowed with an air of ease and self possession, and the author in question asked Carnot who the gentlemen were. The Director answered, " the General of the armed force of Paris, and his aids-de-camp." His being unlike such Generals as Santerre or Rossignol was striking. " What is his name ?" said the author, " Bonaparte." " Has he great military skill ?" " So it is said." " What has he ever done that is remarkable ?" " He is the officer who commanded the troops of the Convention on the day of Vendemiaire." The inquirer was one

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The British resolve to attempt a descent on the French coast.

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of the electors of Vendemiaire ; he retired to an obscure part of the room, and looked on the new visitor in thoughtfulness and silence.

Bonaparte seeing the young lady still at her instrument, and the company taken up with him, said, " I have stopped your amusements ; some person was singing, I beg I may not interrupt the party." The Director apologized ; the General insisted, and after two or three national airs were played, he rose, and took his leave. When he departed, the conversation turned on Bonaparte, and Carnot predicted from this short interview, that the young General, would not long retain a command that an aspiring genius would consider only as a step to future fame and glory.

Barras was not wanting in discernment ; and he, therefore, duly valued the exertions of Bonaparte in the business of the sections ; he saw that he was fitted for a station in which vigilance and activity were essentially requisite, and he procured him the command of the army of the interior ; the high rank of this appointment was attended with adequate emoluments, and carried with it considerable influence.

In this year, 1795, La Vendée was again in a state of insurrection ; the Vendean chiefs were suspected, a correspondence with the English was intercepted, Charette and Stofflet issued a manifesto on the part of the Vendéans, and civil war again seemed inevitable.

The British government, convinced that if France enjoyed all her strength, she would be too powerful for her opponents, resolved to attempt a descent on her coasts. Regiments of Emigrants were raised, which were recruited partly by the unfortunate Toulonese, who were saved from the massacre in that city, and by ve-

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Expedition to Quiberon.

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lunteers from amongst the French prisoners: M. de Puisaye had the command of the expedition; and the gallant Count de Sombreuil and Count d'Hervilly volunteered their services on this occasion, hoping to restore tranquillity to their distracted country.

The expedition was provided with liberality, and from the judicious equipment of their army, and the great supply of arms and stores, which they could distribute on their landing, they had no doubt of the most favourable results.

When they were a fortnight at sea, the fleet anchored in the bay of Quiberon, and about 2500 men landed on the morning of the 27th June, before whom 200 Republicans appeared to make a stand, but were easily put to flight. Multitudes of peasants came from all quarters to see the army, and were much pleased with the expedition. They were supplied with large quantities of different necessaries, and upwards of 28,000 muskets were distributed among them.

The fort of Quiberon surrendered to M. d'Hervilly. It was afterwards settled in a council of war, to remove the main army within the peninsula and fort of Quiberon, while M. Vauban, who commanded some regular troops and Chouans, was to continue in his station at Carnae, on the north-east of Quiberon Bay, about six miles south-west of the town of Auray. On the 3d and 4th of July, the Republicans attacked the Chouans, when the Emigrants found it impossible to keep them to their posts. The wretched people of Carnae and its vicinity were filled with terror at the departure of the Emigrant army. The Republicans had procured the best intelligence respecting their antagonists, and they were no sooner within the peninsula than they attacked all their

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The Emigrants defeated at Quiberon.

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other posts. Part of the Emigrants were saved by the British boats, while the rest were pursued under the cannon of the fort.

The Convention despatched Blad and Tallien to raise the neighbouring departments, whilst General Hoche organised an army; he obliged the Emigrants to retire under fort Penthièvre, whilst he occupied the village of St. Barbe, and entrusted General Lemoine to construct strong works on the heights of St. Barbe, which is so situated that it commands the communication. Almost every person in the Emigrant army began to discover the necessity of a retreat; but the confusion increased in a frightful degree. By order of M. de Puisaye and Sir J. B. Warren, the whole of the provisions on board the transports were disembarked; and these provisions, destined for the army, were given away among the hordes of useless Chouans who crowded the peninsula. M. de Puisaye's army, consisting of Emigrants, Chouans, and British, amounted to 12,000 men, of which 5000 were to raise the blockade, by attacking the Republicans at St. Barbe. The Emigrants carried the two first camps, and the Republicans, under General Humbert, retreated with apparent confusion; but on attacking the third, two masked batteries were opened on them, and a terrible slaughter ensued. To aid their retreat, the Emigrants threw away their arms, their knapsacks, and their very shoes, but it is likely that none of them would have escaped, if the firing from the British fleet had not stopped the pursuit of the Republicans. Many nobles were left dead on the field, General d'Hervilly, was badly wounded, and the Republicans took three pieces of cannon.

Hoche attacked Fort Penthièvre with 3000 men, led on

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The Royalists attack the island of Noirmoutier and are repulsed.

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by Generals Humbert and Valle, aided by numbers of deserters from the Royalists; 300 men scaled the rocks, and, being assisted by part of the garrison, got possession of one of the advanced works, and planted the tri-coloured flag; the entrenched camps were forced, and M. de Puisaye being wounded, retired on board one of the English vessel; but the Royalists rallied under the gallant Sombreuil, who wished to hold out until the women and children, who were throwing themselves into the sea, had obtained an asylum on board the English fleet.

It was impossible to resist the Republicans: some of the chiefs endeavoured to escape in the boats sent to their succour; the firing recommenced, and the unhappy Emigrants were forced either to perish by the swords of the victors, or the waves of the sea. The accomplished Sombreuil, the bishop of Dol, with the clergy who followed him, and almost the whole of the Emigrant officers, were taken and guillotined. Most of the privates, except the Chouans, effected their escape.

The defeat of this expensive expedition did not satisfy England that the subjugation of France was impossible. The fleet of Sir John B. Warren continued off the coast of Britany the remaining part of the year, not without hopes of doing something extraordinary in favour of the Royalists. A council of war being held in Quiberon bay, it was resolved to attack the island of Noirmoutier, which was formerly held by the people of Vendée. It was attacked, and the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. The extravagance of this attempt with such a force was obvious, against a fortress defended by 120 pieces of cannon, and 15,000 men,

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The city of Manheim taken by the Republican troops.

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The isle of Dieu, however, was taken possession of, and the British cruisers kept the coast in continual alarm.

The campaign in Flanders began by the siege of Luxembourg, which surrendered to the Republicans on the 7th of June. This has been reckoned one of the strongest fortifications in Europe. Its garrison was 10,000 men, commanded by the celebrated Marshal Bender, and all supplies were cut off before it capitulated. The army of the Sambre and Meuse, under General Jourdan, crossed the Rhine near Dusseldorff, and got possession of it, and invested Mentz, after the Austrians had taken a strong position on the Lahn, between the towns of Nassau and Diesbourg. The army of the Rhine and Moselle, under General Pichegru, passed the river opposite Manheim, which fine city was taken possession of by the Republicans.

The army under the command of Jourdan, forced the posts of the Austrians on the Lahn, crossed the Maine, and Mentz was completely blockaded. A division of General Pichegru's army had orders to take ground that might prevent the junction of Clairfait's army with that of Marshal Wurmser, who was marching in great force to relieve Manheim, in order to prevent its surrender; but the French cavalry having plundered the peasantry, the Austrians surprised them. The ground was disputed with great obstinacy, but the Austrian troops, by following up their success, caused the whole division of the enemy to fall back on Manheim. This suggested to the Republican Generals the idea of giving up their pursuit; and Jourdan saw that his station was no longer tenable; for the enemy had attacked his rear, and took a considerable part of his artillery.

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The Austrians defeat the French.

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Prince Hohenlohe of Prussia surprised the Republicans at Kaiserslautern ; but the Prussians making immediate restitution, the treaty then on foot was continued. Hohenlohe is charged with having encouraged Clairfait to attack the Republicans by the information he gave respecting their position and the weakness of their force. The French were surprised ; and General Jourdan was forced to raise the siege of Mentz and commence a retreat. The army of the Sambre and Meuse was immediately pursued by the enemy, when Clairfait had collected his scattered forces along the Neckar ; at which time General Pichegru crossed the Rhine, in order to reinforce the army on the left, leaving a strong garrison at Mannheim. The army under General Jourdan was hotly pursued by Clairfait, and, after a variety of skirmishes, retreated to Dusseldorff, where it first crossed the Rhine. The garrison of Mentz received strong reinforcements, and the Austrians, in no manner alarmed for its safety, two of their divisions crossed the Rhine, and attacked the remainder of the French army entrenched before that place, and exerted their strength to no purpose for several months. The Republicans fought with fury and desperation for a long time, but were, at last, forced to relinquish all their posts, their artillery having been seized by the enemy, and their works demolished.

The Austrians now were masters of the whole country from Landau to the banks of the Moselle ; at which critical time, General Jourdan assembled all the Republican forces on the left side of the Rhine ; and, leaving a strong party at Dusseldorff, he advanced, and checked the Austrians in that quarter. The town of Mannheim was violently assaulted by the Austrians, and was



Embargo on Dutch ships in British Ports.

nearly destroyed by fire. The French garrison surrendered prisoners of war, to the amount of 8000 men. In the Palatinate, the Austrians were in possession of the whole country from the Rhine, in a direction north-west, through Landau to Deux Ponts, and from that quarter their conquest extended north to the country along the Moselle as far as Treves. The Republicans made a most furious assault upon the Austrians, every inch was disputed in the keenest manner, but they succeeded in limiting the boundaries of the Austrians; and a cessation of hostilities was agreed to for three months. The army of Italy acted on the defensive, as the combined forces were much superior, although the rigour of the season prevented any very active operations.

The Cabinet of St. James's, after the conquest of Holland, and the treaty signed between that country and France, laid an embargo on all Dutch ships in British ports, and five men of war, and sixty sail of other vessels were detained; an order for reprisals was also granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of Holland.

The Dutch factories in Asia were taken by the British government; its power was thus increased in the Eastern world, and the Cape of Good Hope was taken by an expedition under Vice Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone.

The islands of Grenada, Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent's, in the West Indies, were, however, powerfully incited to rise against the British government; and the decree for emancipating the slaves, was carefully promulgated.

Victor Hugues landed a body of troops in the island of St. Lucia, in the month of April 1795; these were joined by the people of colour, and the old French in-

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The West India islands excited to insurrection by Victor Hugues.

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habitants, who got accessions of strength from the negro slaves. General Stuart, who commanded in the island, attacked Souffriere, occupied by the rebels, and fell into an ambuscade, but from which he fortunately escaped. Two days afterwards he gave them battle at Souffriere, but was defeated with the loss of 200 men, and a number of officers. This obliged the British troops to shelter themselves within the fort, and they abandoned the whole island in the month of July.

Grenada was also encouraged by Victor Hugues, who sent a number of men for that purpose from Guadaloupe, and the Lieutenant Governor and many inhabitants were made prisoners, and the French kept possession in the island. To add to the miseries of the colonists the insurrection was followed by the yellow fever, which caused more havoc than the sword.

The subjugation of Dominica was projected by Victor Hugues, and the French inhabitants of that island, and a detachment from Guadaloupe, were joined by a great number of negroes. One company of regulars only was stationed on this island, and must have fallen into the power of the insurgents, had not the British inhabitants with invincible fortitude, obliged them to surrender. Many executions of the French inhabitants followed, and several disaffected were sent to England. The island of St. Vincents was also in insurrection; the British troops were repulsed by the Caribs in two actions, who were not totally subdued at the end of the year.

Jamaica also had a share of these colonial calamities. A terrible fire broke out at Montego Bay, which did much mischief, and reduced the greater part of the town; the Maroon Indians took up arms, and a melancholy war ensued. Bloodhounds were sent for from

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The Censeur and a number of Merchantmen taken by the French.

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Cuba to hunt down the unhappy negroes, and the policy of the British government has, in this instance, been much questioned both at home and abroad.

The British Mediterranean fleet of about sixty sail of merchantmen, homeward-bound, under the protection of three ships of the line and four frigates, was overtaken by a French fleet of nine sail of the line and a number of frigates, off Cape St. Vincent, commanded by Admiral Richery, who had left the port of Toulon only a little time before. When the British commodore saw the French squadron making towards him with a press of sail, he made the signal for the fleet to disperse. In the mean time, the Republican Admiral dispatched his frigates to prevent the escape of the merchant ships. The Bedford and the Formidable, as well as the frigates, effected their escape, but the retreat of the Censeur of 74 guns was entirely cut off, and near thirty of the merchantmen fell into the hands of the French.

During these transactions, the happy termination of civil war in La Vendée seemed approaching; for Stofflet and Charette were captured and shot, and their followers submitted to the Constituted Authorities.

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## CHAPTER XXXI.

JOSÉPHINE LA PAGERIE, when twenty-two years of age, married the Viscount Alexander de Beauharnois, Major in a royal French regiment of infantry; both were de-

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General Beauharnois guillotined.

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scended from noble families, both natives of Martinique, and both educated in France. The fortune of the beautiful Josephine was a pleasing addition to the slender income of the youthful Viscount; their expenditure was liberal; and, having been introduced at court, their rank, their manners, and the elegance of their entertainments, ensured them the best company in Paris.

At the beginning of the Revolution, M. de Beauharnois was chosen, by the nobility of the baliwick of Blois, a deputy to the States-General, or National Assembly; and, in June 1791, he was elected their president, and in that capacity signed the proclamation to the French people on the journey of the King to Varennes. He served under General Biron in April 1792, and bore the rank of Adjutant-General when the French were defeated near Mons. He succeeded Custine in the command of the army of the Rhine; was suspended by the deputies in August 1793, and soon after arrested with his wife. He was consigned to the guillotine on the 23d of July 1796; if Robespierre had not followed him, a few days after, Madame Beauharnois would also have perished on the Republican scaffold. In one of the 36 lists of persons destined by Fouquier Thionville to feed the guillotine for 36 successive days, appeared the name of Madame de Beauharnois; another list contained the name of Barras. On the 12th of August 1794, she was released by Legendre. Barras had the national seals taken off her house, in the Rue de Victoire, a few weeks after, and honoured her with his protection, by sojourning in her hotel, until October 1795, when his being chosen to the office of Director, required that he should make use of the splendid suite of apartments allotted to him in the palace of the Luxembourg.

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**Bonaparte appointed Commander in Chief & marries Madame Beauharnois.**

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Barras, dignified as one of the chief magistrates of France, found it inconvenient to continue his intimacy with Madame Beauharnois; had their attachment been mutual, it was either easily subdued, or it had suddenly subsided, for the lady agreed to an arrangement, which shewed her obedience to the wishes of her friend, and the self command that she had acquired over her own feelings; she agreed to give her hand to Napoleon Bonaparte, the General of the interior, if the General could be brought to offer her his vows of conjugal affection. The plan was formed, and Barras proceeded to provide his mistress with a husband, and his friend with a wife.

The army of Italy had no leader; Carnot displaced General Scherer for habitual intoxication. Bonaparte having shewn his talents both at Toulon and on the 13th Vendemiaire, Barras recommended him to Carnot, as most likely to serve the Republic faithfully in Italy. Carnot's high opinion of the genius of Bonaparte, seconded the nomination. Barras offered to Bonaparte, Madame Beauharnois, and 500,000 livres, and Carnot offered him the army. Barras told him the lady and the army were equally necessary to a youthful and aspiring General; his friendship, gallantry, and ambition, were roused, and as the terms of the offer signified, that neither could be gratified without the other, he obliged his friend Barras, and became the husband of Madame Beauharnois, and Commander-in-Chief of the army of Italy.

Bonaparte arrived at head quarters early in the spring of 1796. He lived familiarly with the soldiers, marched, on foot, at their head, suffered their hardships, redressed their grievances, and acquired, by attention to their desires, their esteem and affection. His army was very in-



J. Walsh, sculp.

Pub. by R. Evans, April 11-1815.



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The Battle of Montenotte.

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ferior in point of numbers to that of his enemies :—" But, if we are vanquished," said he, " I shall have too much—if conquerors, we stand in need of nothing."

The Austrians and Piedmontese occupied all those parts of the Alps, which command the river of Genoa. The French had their right supported by Savona, and their left towards Montenotte, while two demi-brigades were much advanced in front of their right at Voltri.

After some time spent in movements intended to deceive the French, hostilities were commenced by the Imperialists. Beaulieu ordered 10,000 men to attack the post of Voltri. General Cervoni with 3000 men retreated in the night, in great order, to the church of Our Lady of Savona, and Bonaparte covered him with 1500 men, posted expressly in the avenues of Sospello, and on the heights of Verraggio. On the 10th Beaulieu, with 15,000 men, attacked and drove in all which supported the centre of the French, and at one o'clock of the day was before the redoubt of Montenotte, the last of their entrenchments. In spite of repeated charges this redoubt arrested the progress of the enemy. The chief of brigade, Rampon, who commanded these 1500 men, made his soldiers take an oath to perish in the redoubt, and, for the whole night, kept the enemy at the distance of pistol-shot. In the night time, General Laharpe, took post behind the redoubt, and Bonaparte, followed by the Generals [Berthier and Massena, and the Commissioner Salicetti, brought up his centre and his left, at one o'clock in the morning, by Altara, on the flank and rear of the Austrians. On the 11th, at day break, Beaulieu and Laharpe attacked each other with vigour, and various success, when Massena appeared, dealing death and terror on the Austro-Sardinians, where General Argen-



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Bonaparte summonses General Povera.

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teau commanded. The enemy's Generals, Roccavino and Argenteau, were wounded, and the rout was complete. Fifteen hundred men were killed, and 2500 made prisoners, of which sixty were officers; several standards were also taken. The French made themselves masters of Carcara on the 12th, and also of Cairo.

Beaulieu was yet able to send assistance from his right wing to the left of the Austro-Sardinian army. Bonaparte changed his head-quarters to Carcara on the 12th, and ordered General Laharpe to march to Sozello, in order to threaten the eight battalions of the enemy stationed there, and on the day following by a rapid and concealed march, to get to the town of Cairo, while General Massena was to gain the heights of Dego, at the time that the Generals Menaud and Joubert occupied one of the heights of Biestro, and the other the position of St. Marguerite. This movement following the battle of Montenotte, placed the French army on the other side of the Alps.

General Augereau forced Millesimo, while the Generals Menaud and Joubert drove the enemy from all their posts, and surrounded a corps of 1500 Austrian grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant-General Povera, a knight of the order of Maria Theresa, who gallantly retired to the mountain of Cossaria, and entrenched himself in an old castle extremely strong, on account of its position. Augereau ordered his artillery to advance, when a cannonade was kept up for several hours. In the course of the day, Bonaparte, vexed at finding his march checked by a handful of men, ordered General Povera to be summoned to surrender. He requested to speak with the Commander-in-Chief, but a lively cannonade commencing on the right wing of the French, hindered

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That General surrenders.

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him from going to Povera, who treated with General Augereau for several hours ; Augereau, at length formed his men into four columns, and advanced against the castle. Joubert entered the enemy's works with seven men, when, being wounded in the head, he was thrown on the ground ; his soldiers thinking him dead, his column relaxed. The second column, under General Banel, advanced in silence, when the General was killed. The third column, under Adjutant-General Quenin, who was also killed, was in like manner disconcerted.

Night coming on made Bonaparte fear, that the enemy would attempt to make their way sword in hand : he therefore made dispositions to prevent them.

Next morning the hostile armies faced each other ; the French left, under Augereau, kept General Povera blockaded ; several of the enemy's regiments strove to penetrate the centre of the French, but were repulsed by General Menaud, who was then ordered to fall back on the right wing. Before noon General Massena extended his line beyond the enemy's left, which occupied the village of Dego, strongly entrenched. The French pushed their light troops as far as the road leading from Diego to Spino. General Laharpe's division marched in three close columns ; the one on his left, under General Causse, crossed the Bormida, and attacked the right of the enemy's left wing ; General Cervoni, with the second column, also passed the Bormida, covered by one of the French batteries, and advanced against the enemy ; while the third column, under Adjutant-General Boyer, turned a ravin, and cut off their retreat. The enemy had not time to capitulate ; and the French columns, spreading terror and death, put them to the rout. General Povera, with the corps he commanded at Cossaria, surrendered

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The Directory write to Bonaparte.

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prisoners of war. By this victory the French acquired from seven to nine thousand prisoners, and the enemy had near 3000 killed.

On the 15th, Beaulieu, with the flower of his army, attacked the village of Dego and carried it. Massena, when he had formed part of his troops began the attack, but was repulsed in three attempts. General Causse was not more fortunate; he attacked the enemy, and was on the point of charging with the bayonet, when he fell mortally wounded. In this situation, observing General Bonaparte, he collected his strength, and asked him if Dego was retaken,—"The posts are ours," replied the General.—"Then," said Causse, "*Vive la Republique !* I die content." The affair, however, was not yet decided, and it was already two o'clock in the afternoon. Bonaparte ordered a demi-brigade to form under General Victor, whilst Adjutant-General Lanus, rallying a demi-brigade of light infantry, threw himself on the enemy's left. These movements carried Dego; the cavalry completed the rout of the enemy, who left 600 dead and 1400 prisoners. General Rusca took the post of San-Giovanni, which commands the valley of the Bormida. General Augereau, having drove the enemy from the redoubts of Montezemo, communicated with the valley of the Tanaro, which Serrurier's division had already occupied.

The Directory, in their despatches to Bonaparte, expressed what they felt, in finding they had chosen him to conduct the army of Italy to victory. "To-day, General!" said they, "receive the tribute of national gratitude; merit it more and more, and prove to Europe, that Beaulieu, by changing the scene of action, has not changed his opponent; that, beaten in the north, he shall be constantly defeated by the brave army of Italy;

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**General Massena crosses the Tanaro.**

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and that, with such defenders, liberty shall triumph over the impotent efforts of the enemies of the Republic."

General Laharpe and the chief of brigade, Rampon, also received honourable testimonies of the regard which the Directory had of their exertions.

The movements of Generals Augereau, Bayrand, and Joubert, obliged the enemy to evacuate the entrenched camp during night. General Serrurier entered Ceva, in which was a garrison of between seven and eight hundred men. The heavy artillery had not been able to keep peace with the army in the mountains, and were not yet arrived. The Piedmontese army, driven from Ceva, took a position at the confluence of the Cursaglia. On the 20th Serrurier attacked their right by the village of St. Michael, and, passing the bridge, compelled them, after three hours fighting, to evacuate the village; but the Tanaro not being fordable, the division destined to attack their left could harass them only by its riflemen. General Serrurier therefore retreated: the enemy's position was formidable; surrounded by two deep and impetuous rivers, they had destroyed all the bridges, and erected strong batteries on the banks. Both armies reciprocally sought to deceive each other by false manoeuvres, to conceal their real intentions.

General Massena crossed the Tanaro near Ceva, and occupied the village of Lezegno. Guieux and Fiorella, generals of brigade, took the bridge of the Torra. Bonaparte meant to bear down on Mondovi, and compel the enemy to change the field of battle; but General Colli, dreading the issue of an action, which must have been decisive on so extended a line, retreated. At day-break the two armies were in sight of each other, and the engagement began in the village of Vico. General Guieux

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The King of Sardinia sues for Peace.

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bore down on the left of Mondovi, while the Generals Fiorella and Dammartin carried the redoubt which covered the enemy's centre; the Sardinian army abandoned the field of battle, and on that evening the French entered Mondovi. The enemy's loss amounted to 1800 men, of whom 1300 were prisoners.

The enemy crossed the Stura, and took a position between Coni and Charasco. The French entered the town of Bena. General Serrurier, on the 25th, marched to la Trinité, and cannonaded the town of Fossano, the head quarters of General Colli. General Massena advanced against Cherasco, and drove in the enemy's grand guard. Bonaparte sent General Dujard, and his own aide-camp, Marmont, to reconnoitre the place, and plant howitzers to beat down the palisades. The enemy evacuated the town and repassed the Stura. This victory was of the greatest consequence; for, besides supporting the right wing, it gave an ample supply of subsistence. The French threw bridges of boats across the Stura, and Fossano surrendered to Serrurier. General Augereau marched against Alba, which surrendered, and threw several bridges of boats across the Tanaro, to enable the army to pass the river.

The King of Sardinia, shut up in Turin, determined to treat for peace. General Colli, commander-in-chief of his army, addressed a letter to Bonaparte, stating, that as the king had sent plenipotentiaries to Genoa to treat for peace, under the mediation of the court of Spain; he thought the interests of humanity required, that hostilities should be suspended during the dependence of the negotiation. He therefore proposed an armistice, in order to prevent the effusion of human blood. Bonaparte replied, that the Executive Directory preserved the right

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*Bonaparte addresses his Army.*

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of treating for peace ; it was therefore necessary that the plenipotentiaries of the King should repair to Paris, or wait at Genoa the arrival of those whom the French government should send thither. He further observed, that the military position of the two armies prevented every unqualified suspension of arms ; and although he was convinced that his government was disposed to grant reasonable conditions of peace to his majesty, yet he could not arrest his march. There was, however, he remarked, a means by which General Colli might attain his purpose, conformable to the true interests of his court, and which would prevent an effusion of blood ; and that was to put into his possession two of the three fortresses of Coni, Alexandria, or Tortona ; they could then wait the issue of negotiations, which probably might be protracted. A peace was granted to the unfortunate monarch : he surrendered Exilles, Tortona, Coni, Alexandria, and Château Dauphin, as the pledges of his faith, and relinquished Savoy and the county of Nice for ever.

Bonaparte immediately after this addressed his army from his head-quarters at Cherasco ; he there stated to them the great things they had done in the short space of fourteen days, and the magnanimity they preserved under the different privations they experienced ; that, destitute of every thing, they had supplied every thing, and without shoes, and often without bread, had performed harassing marches ; he then promised them the conquest of Italy, but on the express condition that they did not pillage or plunder ; that they were coming as friends and brothers, and to dictate a peace that would indemnify their country for what it had sacrificed. He tells them, that those guilty of marauding shall be instantly shot, but that

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Bonaparte advances to the Po.

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he in general sees them obedient and submissive; and concludes by stating, that the French come to break the chains of the Italians, and as enemies only to those tyrants who enslave them.

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## CHAPTER XXXII.

AFTER signing the armistice with the King of Sardinia, on the 29th of April, Bonaparte marched his army towards the Po. Massena had reached Alexandria, and seized on the magazines, which the Austrians had sold to the town. On the 6th of May the army of Italy took possession of Tortona; they found here more than one hundred pieces of brass cannon, and immense magazines. Ceva and Coni were in an equal state of defence, and liberally provisioned. Thus the war supported itself, and the successes of the French furnished them with the means of making new conquests. The stipulations of the fourth article of the armistice, induced the general of the Austrian army to believe that Bonaparte wished to cross the Po at Valenza; but Bonaparte hastened by a forced march to Castel San-Giovanni with 5000 grenadiers and 1500 horse. Andreossi, chief of battalion of artillery, and Adjutant-General Frontin, with 100 dragoons, reconnoitred the Po as far as Placenza, and took five boats loaded with rice, on board of which were 500 sick, and all the army medicines. On the 7th, at nine in the morning, Bonaparte reached the Po, opposite Placenza. Two squadrons of hussars on the opposite side of the river seemed determined to dispute the passage. The French troops got into the boats, and landed

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**Bonaparte sends Pictures of Correggio to Paris.**

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on the other side, when the enemy's cavalry retired. The divisions of the army passed the river in the course of the day. In the mean time Beaulieu, acquainted with the march of the French, was convinced of the uselessness of his entrenchments on the Tesino, and his redoubts at Pavia. On the 8th at noon Bonaparte heard that a division of the enemy was near ; he advanced, and found them entrenched in the village of Fombio, with 20 pieces of cannon. After a spirited resistance, the Austrians retreated, and were pursued as far as the Adda.

Another body of the Imperialists reached Codogna, the head quarters of General Laharpe, at two in the morning, and drove in the French videttes. General Laharpe ordered a demi-brigade to advance, when the enemy were drove back and disappeared ; but Laharpe was killed by a ball. General Berthier went directly to Codogna, pursued the enemy, and took Casal, with a vast quantity of baggage. The passage of the Po was a great operation, as in many places that river could not have been passed in two months. This alarmed all the states of Italy, and the Infant Duke of Parma signed an armistice with Bonaparte.

In this he engages to pay a military contribution of 2,000,000 livres French money ; to furnish 2200 draught horses and harness, and others for the officers and the cavalry ; to give up twenty paintings, and lodge a quantity of wheat and oats, and furnish 2000 oxen for the French army.

Bonaparte informed the Directory of his intention of sending to Paris, as soon as possible, the finest pictures of Correggio, and among others a St. Jerome, said to be his master-piece. " I confess," observed Bonaparte, " this saint has chosen an unlucky moment to arrive at



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Passage of the Bridge of Lodi.

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“ Paris ; but I hope you will grant him the honours of  
“ the museum.”

The Senate of Venice ordered Louis XVIII. to quit its territories, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany sued for favour. The King of Naples sent to Genoa to make peace, and all the sea ports of the Peninsula were shut against the English. The road to Milan, which was opened to the French, was not safe until the Austrians were driven from the banks of the Adda. Bonaparte had so disposed the march of his divisions, that, in less than three hours, he could unite them ; but Beaulieu had placed the Adda between himself and the French, and waited for them at the end of a bridge, 100 toises in length, and he hoped to stop their progress by covering it with a numerous artillery. This bridge lay at the town of Lodi ; it was at the head of it, on the side next the city, that Bonaparte was to plant, under a shower of grape-shot, two pieces of cannon, to prevent the enemy from breaking it down, whilst a column was forming to carry the pass. The French entered Lodi, and Beaulieu, with his whole army, and 80 pieces of heavy cannon, defended the passage of the bridge. Bonaparte formed all his artillery, and the cannonade was kept up for many hours with great vivacity. The troops formed in close column with a battalion of carabineers at their head, followed by all the grenadier battalions, at charge-step, amidst reiterated acclamations of “ *Vive la Republique !* ” They shewed themselves at the bridge ; but the Austrians kept up so tremendous a fire, that those who advanced fell by columns ; they retreated, but were rallied, and the slaughter was again dreadful ; a second time they retreated, but Bonaparte was immoveable in his determination ; again they darted forward, over the dead bodies of their comrades,

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Defeat of the Austrians at Lodi.

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and the Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, Dallemagne, the chief of brigade Lasnes, and the chief of battalion Dupat, placed themselves at the head of the column, and passed the bridge; the Generals Rusca, Augereau, and Bayrand, with their divisions, passed the Adda, a few miles below Lodi, when the French began to force the bridge, and attacked the Austrians suddenly in the rear, when they thought the French only on one side of the river, and this decided the fortune of the day. The line of artillery was instantly carried, Beaulieu's order of battle broken, and the French troops spread terror and death in every direction; the hostile army was dispersed, though the Austrian cavalry strove to protect the retreat of the infantry, and charged the French. The Imperialists lost 20 pieces of cannon, and between two and three thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The brave, but unfortunate Beaulieu, with the remains of his army, took refuge under Mantua, and abandoned Pizzighitone, Cremona, and all the Milanese, to the French. Bonaparte, in his dispatches to the Directory, after stating this memorable battle, observes, That although the French had been engaged in many warm contests, none approached the terrible passage of the Bridge of Lodi; the French pursued the Austrians as far as Pizzighitone, and entered it on the 12th, after a brisk cannonade, and took about 400 prisoners. Cremona surrendered to them, and the vanguard of Bonaparte took the route to Milan, and entered it on the 15th, having received the submission of Pavia, where they found immense magazines of the Imperial army. The conquest of Lombardy might now be regarded as complete; for, although the castle of Milan still held out, the tri-coloured flag floated from the Lake of Como, and the frontiers

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Archduke and Duchess leave their Capital.

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of the Grisons, as far as the gates of Parma. Such rapid success, in so short a time, made some days of repose necessary to an army so much engaged. The Austrians had quitted Milan soon after the news of the battle of Lodi; and, when the French were about to enter the city, a deputation of the inhabitants carried them the key of its gates. The court of the Archduke departed, and the Archduke and Duchess shewed great sorrow at quitting their capital; the streets and squares, through which they passed, were crowded with people, who shewed neither joy nor sorrow, and few of the nobility attended the court in its flight. The people collected in great crowds to witness the entry of the French, and almost all wore the national cockade; the Imperial arms were taken away from most of the public buildings, and many of the nobility took the arms off their carriages. On the 14th of May, the tree of liberty was planted in the grand square; and on the same day, General Massena entered the city with his troops. A deputation with the Archbishop, went out to meet him; upon entering, he clapped the keys, which had been given him, one against the other, in token of rejoicing.

Bonaparte's entry was extremely brilliant; the nobility and gentry of the city went out to meet him in their most splendid carriages, and returned in the procession, amidst the shouts of an immense populace; the cavalcade went to the Archducal palace, where he was to lodge, with several bands of musicians, playing patriotic tunes, and soon after his arrival, he sat down to a dinner of two hundred covers. The day was concluded by an elegant ball, where the ladies vied with each other in patriotism, by wearing the French national colours in every part of their dresses. The next day, Bonaparte received visita

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A large contribution levied on Lombardy.

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from the citizens, and in the evening there was a concert of vocal and instrumental music at the theatre. All the chests which contained the property of the Archduke and the city, were emptied into the French coffers, and a splendid fete was given the day after, with much enthusiasm, which finished in the evening with a general illumination; the whole was terminated by sending deputations into the different towns and villages, to instruct the people in the principles of liberty and equality.

A proclamation was issued by Bonaparte to the people of Lombardy on the 30th Floreal, or 21st of May, stating, "That the French people looking on the people of Lombardy as their brethren, had a right to expect a just return, and he, therefore, should impose a contribution of 20,000,000 livres, to be raised in equal proportions, by the different districts of Lombardy: the necessities of the army," says he "require it, and it is a small sum for a country so fertile."

Twenty-one standards of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies had been already sent to Paris, and presented to the Executive Directory. These were received in a public sitting, amidst the acclamations of "Vive la République!" and the day on which Bonaparte entered Milan, the ambassadors of the King of Sardinia signed at Paris, the definitive treaty of peace between that sovereign and France. The government, anxious to encourage the ardour of the troops, by publicly acknowledging their services, decreed the celebration of a Fête des Victoires, on the 29th of May; and it was observed at Paris.

Great preparations were made in the Champ de Mars for this grand ceremony. Several ornamental statues were erected, and military ensigns festooned together in

various parts of the field, added to the dignity of the place.

The constituted authorities were on a mount raised in the middle, and large bodies of cavalry and infantry were ranged round them. An immense crowd assembled; the Directory advanced to the sound of music, and after a profound silence was observed, the decree was read, and the president of the Directory addressed the crowd in an appropriate speech; discharges of artillery, and music continued after the ceremony to exhilarate the people, and forming themselves into dancing parties, the day was spent in mirth and festivity.

While these feats were acted on the banks of the Seine, Bonaparte, faithful to his plan of activity, made dispositions to attack the castle of Milan and preparing to pursue the remains of the Austrian army, meditated an attack on the dominions of Rome and Naples. On the 20th of May, he published an energetic Address to his brethren in arms.

He states to them that they came like a torrent from the Apennines, and dispersed all who opposed them; that Piedmont had made peace with France, Lombardy hoisted the Republican flag, and the Dukes of Parma and Modena owed their political existence to their generosity. That much, however, remained to be done; forced marches to perform, enemies to conquer, laurels to gather, and injuries to avenge; he points out to them his plan of rousing the Roman people, to restore the capital, and thus have the glory of renovating the finest part of Europe; and that the French, free and respected by the world, will give Europe a glorious peace, and that they will return to their homes.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE Duke of Modena was more alarmed as the French proceeded: he, therefore, wished for peace, and purchased an armistice of Bonaparte at a most excessive price; he agreed to pay to the French Republic 7,500,000 livres French money; to furnish 2,500,000 livres in provisions and military stores, for the French army; and to deliver up 20 paintings taken from his gallery, or his dominions, to be selected by persons nominated by the French.

General Despinoy, the French commandant of Milan, observing on the 24th, that the people were collecting in the suburbs of the city, on the side of Pavia, ordered some troops to march there, whom the rebels attempted to disarm; but the French detachment, having wounded and taken some of them, put the rest to flight. This movement took place at the same moment at Varese, Pavia, and Lodi. The tocsin was sounded in the country; the peasants assassinated the persons employed in the administration; and the garrison left at Pavia, having been surprised in their quarters, were disarmed.

Bonaparte set out from Milan on the 24th, to repair to Lodi, leaving only at Milan sufficient troops to blockade the castle. Scarcely had he reached Lodi, when General Despinoy informed him, that three hours after his departure the tocsin was sounded in Lombardy, and that it was industriously circulated that Nice was taken by the English, the army of Condé arrived by Switzerland, on the

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Bonaparte orders the village of Binasco to be burned.

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borders of the Milanese, and Beaulieu, reinforced with 60,000 men, was on his march to Milan. Everywhere the people were called on to arm against the French; the nobles had discharged their domestics, telling them, that equality did not allow the continuance of their services; and all the partisans of the house of Austria, the sbirri, and agents of the customs, appeared in the front. The inhabitants of Pavia, reinforced with five or six thousand peasants, invested the citadel, in which there were only 300 French.

At Milan, the people tore down the tree of liberty, and trampled the national cockade under foot. General Despinoy, the commander, mounted his horse, whilst patrols put the populace to flight. The gate leading to Pavia was still in the hands of the rebels, who expected the peasants, whom they meant to introduce into the city; to force them to submission, a terrible charge was made; and this restored tranquillity, but the city was given up to pillage for 24 hours.

When Bonaparte was acquainted with these proceedings, he hastened back with 300 horse, and a battalion of grenadiers. When he arrived at Milan, he ordered a number of hostages to be arrested, and those to be shot who were taken in arms; at the same time acquainting the archbishop, chapter, monks, and nobles, that they were responsible for the public tranquillity. Order being re-established at Milan, Bonaparte proceeded to Pavia.

The chief of brigade, Lasnes, attacked Binasco, which seven or eight hundred armed peasants seemed determined to defend; he charged them, and, having killed about 100, dispersed the rest. Bonaparte ordered the village to be burned, which exhibited a horrible spectacle, and,

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The people take the castle of Pavia.

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as he says, extorted many a sigh from the General. He then sent the archbishop of Milan to Pavia, with the following proclamation :

“ Milan, 6 Prairial, 4th year,  
(25 May, 1796.)

“ A mis-led multitude, destitute of the means of re-  
“ sistance, have been guilty of the greatest excesses in  
“ several communes, condemning the Republic and the  
“ brave army triumphant over so many kings. This  
“ inconceivable frenzy merits pity ; the unhappy peo-  
“ ple are led astray, only to conduct them to ruin. The  
“ General in Chief, faithful to the principles the French  
“ nation have adopted, who do not make war on the  
“ people, earnestly wishes to leave a gate open to re-  
“ pentance ; but those who, in 24 hours, shall not lay  
“ down their arms, and take anew the oath of obedience  
“ to the French Republic, shall be treated as rebels, and  
“ their villages burned. May the terrible example of  
“ Binasco make them open their eyes ! its fate shall be  
“ that of all the towns and villages which persist in  
“ revolt.”

“ (Signed) BONAPARTE.

At day-break, the General reached Pavia, when the rebels were driven back. The place was filled with a multitude of people, and in a state of defence ; the castle was taken, and the French troops were prisoners. The General made the artillery advance, and after some discharges, summoned the insurgents to submit, and have recourse to French generosity ; but they answered, that while Pavia had walls, they would not surrender. General Dammartin formed the 6th battalion of grenadiers



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**Bonaparte orders the municipality to be shot.**

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in close column, with two eight-pounders in their van ; and each man having a hatchet, the gates were burst open, on which the multitude dispersed, and sought safety in caves and on house-tops, attempting, by throwing down tiles, to dispute the entry of the troops into the streets. "Thrice," said Bonaparte, "had the order "to set fire to the city expired on my lips, when the garrison of the castle arrived, and hastened with cries of "joy to embrace their deliverers. Their names were "called over, and none were found missing ; if the "blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, I had resolved to raise on the ruins of Pavia a column, on "which these impressive words were to be inscribed, "Here stood the city of Pavia!" Bonaparte ordered the whole municipality to be shot, and 200 hostages to be arrested, and sent immediately into France. The punishments of Bonaparte for insurrection were tremendous ; the village of Binasco burned, Milan given up to pillage, and many of its principal inhabitants put to death ; the municipality of Pavia shot, after the city being taken, were terrible examples of his severity.

Bonaparte issued a proclamation, stating, that the nobles, the priests, and the agents of Austria, had led astray the people of these delightful countries ; that the French army, as generous as brave, would treat as brethren the peaceable natives, but that it would be terrible as the fire of heaven to rebels, and to the villages that gave them protection. He, therefore, declared all those villages in a state of rebellion which had not complied with his order on the 25th ; and ordered the Generals to march against them the troops necessary to suppress the insurgents, to set fire to them, and to shoot, on the spot, all who had arms in their hands. All priests

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The Milanese crown him at the Theatre.

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and nobles, in the rebellious communes, were to be arrested as hostages, and sent into France ; every village where the tocsin was sounded was to be instantly burnt ; and the Generals were responsible for the execution of the order. The villages, where a single Frenchman was assassinated, were to pay three times the sum they annually paid to the Archduke, until they gave up the assassin. Every man found with a musket and ammunition, was to be immediately shot, by order of the General commanding the jurisdiction. Wherever concealed arms were found, the place was to pay thrice its usual revenue by way of fine ; and every house where a musket was found, was to be burnt, unless the proprietor declared to whom it belonged. All the nobles and rich persons who excited the people to revolt, were to be taken as hostages, and sent to France, and a part of their revenues confiscated.

Bonaparte attended the theatre at Milan, at the representation of Metastasio's opera of Cato ; and the audience, as if anxious to regain the esteem of a man, whose austerity was equalled only by his power, applauded every sentence which they chose to apply to him, and a crown of laurels was placed on his head.

Venice did not recognize a sister in the French Republic, but saw in it a democracy, to which her aristocracy was less accommodating than to Emperors and Kings. Irresolute as to what side she should take, and unwilling to engage in war, she thought a neutrality would save her from danger, and perhaps only looked on the success of the French in her territories, as the means of delivering her the sooner from both them and the Imperialists.

Bonaparte had been at Brescia, making dispositions to

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The Austrians driven out of Italy.

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induce Beaulieu to believe, that he meant to turn him by the head of the lake, in order to cut him off from the road to the Tyrol, by way of Riva. At two in the morning, all the divisions were in motion, and marched towards Borghetto, where Bonaparte intended to cross the Mincio: they crossed that river and engaged, when the Austrians fought with the utmost bravery, and retreated only after performing acts of the greatest intrepidity: the Austrians lost 1500 men, and 500 horse, in killed and prisoners; among the latter was Prince Cuto, Lieutenant-General in the army of the King of Naples, and Commander-in-Chief of the Neapolitan cavalry. The French also took five pieces of cannon, two twelve-pounders and three six-pounders, with seven or eight waggons loaded with warlike stores. At Castlenuovo many magazines were taken, part of which, however, had been burnt. Thus the Austrians were driven out of Italy, and the French advanced posts reached the mountains of Germany. In these engagements nothing could equal the courage of the French troops, but the gaiety with which they made their rapid marches, singing alternately songs in praise of their country and of their loves.

The division of General Massena took Verona, which had been the refuge of Louis-Stanislaus, brother of the last King of the French, and of his little court of Emigrants, to whom the Venetians had given a ready reception. Charles de la Croix, the French minister for foreign affairs, wrote to Quirini, the minister of the Republic of Venice, that he was astonished such a permission had been given to the fugitive Prince, who having stated the matter to the Senate, they returned for answer, that the Republic of Venice had not transgressed against a proper respect to the Republic of France; that the an-

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Louis, the Brother of the late King, quits Verona.

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cient Committee of Public Safety expressed their satisfaction, that the ci-devant Count de Provence remained in the Venetian state, rather than any where else, and they relied that the Directory would not act against the sentiments and principles of the Committee. This explanation seemed to give satisfaction, but the victories of the French army having made a great impression on the Senate of Venice, the Marquis Carletti was desired to signify to the brother of Louis XVI. that he must quit the territory with all possible expedition. To this notification, for which he was not in the least prepared, "I will go but under two conditions:—1. Let the golden book be brought me, in which the names of my family are inscribed, that I may strike mine out with my own hand. 2. Let the armour be delivered to me, which my ancestor, Henry IV. presented to the Republic, as a token of friendship." Both requests were refused, and he soon after quitted Verona.

The life of this Prince, while he continued at Verona, was singularly regular. At eight in the morning, he was dressed, and wore the insignia of the orders to which he belonged; he passed much of the morning in writing, and was visible only to his chancellor; his table was frugal; after dinner he gave audience to a few, and then shut himself up in his chamber, where he was frequently heard to walk in great agitation. Towards the evening he generally grew more calm, and had a small party of his courtiers, who read to him, and conversed. He never went out, nor paid any visits, either in Verona or its vicinity. He constantly read the *Moniteur*, and other French newspapers, and went by the name of the Count de Lille. Whenever any of his courtiers called him by the title of majesty he was observed to sigh heavily.

Bonaparte removed to Verona on the third of June, where he left a strong garrison, to secure the three bridges across the Adige at that place. General Beaulieu was succeeded by Marshal Wurmser, who had indeed not been much more fortunate, but who had effected more.

After the action at Borghetto, the passage of the Min-cio, the taking of Peschiera, and the flight of the enemy into the Tyrol, the French invested Mantua, which required a formal siege, and they had few means wherewith to undertake it. Meaning to penetrate into the Tyrolese, Bonaparte addressed a manifesto to the warlike people of these lofty mountains. He informed them, that he was about to cross their territory, to compel the court of Vienna to a peace, as necessary to Europe as to its own subjects. It was their own cause he was to defend, for they had been harassed by a war, undertaken to gratify the passions of a single family.

He promised that every thing should be paid for ; but threatens them with destruction if they take up their arms against him, and vows vengeance against the towns and villages.

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#### CHAPTER XXXIV.

NEW commotions took place in the Imperial Fiefs, which border on the states of Genoa, Tuscany, and Piedmont ; the communications of the army with the river of Genoa

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**General Augereau crosses the Po.**

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were menaced, the convoys attacked, and the couriers assassinated. It was necessary also to keep an eye on the castle of Milan, and carry on the siege of Mantua. The greatest activity was hardly sufficient for the many operations that were required.

General Lasnes entered the Imperial Fiefs with 1200 horse, arrested and shot the chiefs of the revolt, and burned their habitations. The same severity was displayed in the environs of Tortona; a proclamation was issued and strictly executed. All the seigneurs holding Imperial Fiefs, were to repair in person to Tortona, there to take the oath of obedience to the Republic; and if within five days after the publication of the order they had not done so, their goods were to be confiscated. The inhabitants were to carry to the military agent at Tortona, within twenty-four hours after notice, the sum of the military contribution, which was to be enhanced one-tenth for each day's delay of payment. All persons, after the space of forty-eight hours, found with arms or ammunition, were to be shot. All the bells which sounded the tocsin were to be taken down from their steeples, and broken to pieces, within twenty-four hours after the proclamation; and those who neglected to do so, to be considered as rebels, and their villages burned.

General Augereau having crossed the Po at Borgoforte, arrived at Bologna on the 19th, where he found 400 of the Pope's soldiers, who were made prisoners. Bonaparte left Tortona on the 17th, and arrived on the 19th at Modena, whence he sent orders, by Adjutant-General Vignole, to the garrison of Urbino, to surrender prisoners of war; after this he continued his march to Bologna, where he arrived at midnight. The French took in Fort Urbino 50 pieces of cannon, in excellent condition, 500'

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The French enter the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

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muskets, and provisions for 600 men for two months. Fort Urbino was encircled by a wall with covered bastions, and surrounded by ditches full of water, having a covered way newly repaired. It was commanded by a knight of Malta, with 300 men, who were taken prisoners. At Bologna the cardinal legate was taken, with all the officers of the *état-major*, and four standards. The cardinal legate of Ferrara was also taken prisoner, with the commandant of that fort, who was likewise a knight of Malta. In the castle of Ferrara there were 114 pieces of cannon.

The twenty paintings which were to be furnished by Parma, were on their way to Paris; and among them the celebrated one of St. Jerome, so highly esteemed that a million livres was offered to redeem it. The paintings from Modena was also on the road, and the citizen Barthelemy was employed in selecting about fifty of the paintings of Bologna, while others were engaged at Pavia and Bologna in collecting plants and other objects of natural history.

After taking Bologna a French division proceeded to Ferrara and Faenza, whose submission promised that of Romagna; a column of the French army also marched from Reggio, across the Apennines, to Pistoia, and threatened to advance to Rome by the way of Florence. This intelligence threw the court of the Grand Duke into the greatest alarm; Manfredini, his prime minister, was sent to Bologna in great haste, to state to the French General, that as a passage through Tuscany had been denied the troops of Naples, it would be unjust to violate a territory the Allies had respected, and with which France was at peace. The Grand Duke, however, could not hinder the French entering his territories, and could only get a promise from Bonaparte, that he would not enter Florence. The French army marched rapidly towards Leg-

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They take Possession of Leghorn.

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horn: it is likely that Manfredini had not this expedition confided to him; but Bonaparte, on reaching Pistoia, acquainted the Grand Duke of the circumstance by a letter, wherein he observed that the flag of the French Republic was hourly insulted in the port of Leghorn, the property of the French merchants violated, and every hour marked by some attempt against the French, as contrary to the interests of the Republic as to the law of nations. The Executive Directory had often complained to the minister of his Royal Highness, at Paris, who had been forced to avow the impossibility his master found in checking the English, and keeping neutrality in the port of Leghorn. The Directory, therefore, felt it their duty to repel force by force, and make their commerce be respected; and had ordered him to send a division of the army under his command, to take possession of Leghorn; he had therefore the honour to inform his Royal Highness, that a division of the army would enter that city on the 28th, but would conduct itself agreeable to the principles of the neutrality it was to maintain; and the flag, the garrison, and the property of his Royal Highness, and his people, would be scrupulously respected. The General was also to assure the Grand Duke of the wish entertained by the French Government for a continuation of the friendship which united the two states, and of its conviction, that his Royal Highness, witnessing the excesses committed by the English ships, and, unable to prevent them, would applaud the measures adopted by the Directory.

Bonaparte left Pistoia to join the column already at the gates of Leghorn. An English frigate, on going out of the harbour, was fired at, but without effect. A few hours before the French troops arrived, more than forty



English ships, fully laden, left Leghorn. The General ordered the Chevalier Spannochi, governor of the city for the Grand Duke, to be arrested; he was conducted to Florence, and sent to prison by order of the Grand Duke.

Bonaparte ordered seals to be put on all the English magazines. A strong garrison, under General Vaubois, was left in Leghorn. Bonaparte, with Berthier, and a part of the état major, passed through Florence, and was entertained by the Grand Duke very superbly. It has been already mentioned, that, on the 28th, General Bonaparte had directed the consul of the French Republic at Leghorn, to put seals on all the magazines belonging to the English; he was also ordered to take similar measures as to those appertaining to the Emperor, the Empress of Russia, and in general all the princes or subjects of states with whom the French were at war; and to employ every means necessary to discover the merchandise deposited in the houses of the different merchants at Leghorn, and take possession of them.

While Bonaparte was at table with the Grand Duke at Florence, a courier brought news of the taking of the castle of Milan, with 2800 prisoners, 150 pieces of cannon, 20,000 pounds of powder, and a great quantity of useful stores. If the young sovereign nominally saved his dominions, his feelings must have suffered by entertaining in his palace a general whose family had been reckoned among his subjects, who left a garrison in Leghorn, and who destroyed all the commercial intercourse between his friends the English and the only port in his dominions. He was even obliged to punish the governor of his principal town, because, no doubt, he had been too obedient to his master. The reduction of the castle

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An Armistice concluded with the Pope.

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of Milan, announced now, must have given additional chagrin to the Grand Duke. When the commissioner, Salicetti, passed through Florence, two days after Bonaparte, he received an invitation from his Royal Highness, which he declined.

An armistice was concluded with the Pope, on condition that his Holiness should send to Paris, to obtain from the Executive Directory a definitive peace, by offering reparations for the losses suffered by the French in his territory. That the ports belonging to the Pope should be shut against the vessels of those at war with the Republic, and be open to French ships. That the French army should continue in possession of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara. That the citadel of Ancona should be given to the French within five days, with its artillery and store. That the Pope should give up to the French Republic one hundred paintings, busts, vases, or statues, in the choice of commissaries, who should be sent to Rome; among these articles, the bust in bronze of Junius Brutus, and that in marble of Marcus Brutus, both placed in the Capitol, should be particularly comprised; and also five hundred manuscripts, to be selected by the same commissaries. And that the Pope should pay to the French Republic 21,000,000 of livres, French money, of which 15,500,000 livres should be in specie, or gold and silver ingots, and the remaining 5,500,000 in provisions, merchandize, horses, or oxen, as should be determined by the agents of the Republic.

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Porto-Ferrajo, in the Island of Elba, surrenders to the British.

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## CHAPTER XXXV.

ON the 9th July 1796, a British squadron appeared off Porto-Ferrajo, on the island of Elba, and summoned it to surrender. Next morning a strong detachment effected a landing, and took possession of the top of an adjacent hill, where they erected a battery, which commanded the town. Two letters were sent to the governor by two officers, accompanied by a drum, one from Sir Gilbert Elliot, and another from Major Duncan, who commanded the expedition. The Governor called an assembly, and having laid before it the contents of the letters, the resolution adopted was, that the place being in want of provisions, and without a force able to cope with their antagonists, it would be most adviseable to surrender on conditions. Next day these were proposed to the British commander, and finally accepted: the conditions were five in number; and the terms most scrupulously observed.

The French General, unwilling, in the sequel, to have his policy confounded with that of the second-rate statesman, to whom he was opposed, directed his attention to the deliverance of his native country by means of a secret expedition. To effect the reduction of Corsica seems to have been the chief object in first taking possession of Leghorn, although Bonaparte, no doubt, likewise meant by this measure to destroy the British commerce carried on in that port. The garrisons of Corsica

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Corsica surrenders to the French.

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belonging to Great Britain had been in a miserable state for months previous to its being evacuated, insomuch that the soldiers were obliged to continue in their quarters. The Viceroy was arrested as he made the tour of the island, and only liberated on the express condition, that he should withdraw his forces from the interior parts of the country. The inhabitants refused to pay the duties, or in any manner to acknowledge the authority of the British government. The Republicans from Leghorn carried thither supplies of provisions, and gave them instructions as to their future conduct. On getting intelligence that the British troops seriously meant to evacuate the island, General Gentili, the commandant at Leghorn, despatched Casatta with a body of men, who effected a landing on the 18th of October: the day following he was joined by a large body of partisans of France, at whose head he began a rapid march towards Bastia, where he arrived on the 20th, and made himself master of the heights. Powerfully aided by the inhabitants, he summoned the commander of the fort to surrender to the French Republic, allowing him but one hour to deliberate. The garrison, alarmed at the idea of being cut off from the sea, hastily got on board their ships. General Casatta took several hundred prisoners, a great portion of whom were emigrants, and got possession of several magazines. From Bastia the Republican General proceeded to St. Fiorenza, with two pieces of cannon, and succeeded in reducing the town. He made most of the garrison prisoners, and took some mortars and pieces of cannon, which the English had not time to spike.

The British squadron moved beyond the reach of the Republican cannon; and the Viceroy, with the troops he had carried off from Bastia, took refuge in Porto-

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*Peace takes place between France and Naples.*

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**Ferrajo.** The French took prisoners the garrison of Bonifacio, which was followed by the capture of Ajaccio; and the whole island became subject to the Republicans, after the arrival of Gentili in person, at the head of the whole Corsican refugees on the continent. Thus were the British driven from the island of Corsica, and obliged to give up the Gulph of St. Fiorenzo, where they did considerable injury to the French Republic. Some ships of war could not be got out of the port of Ajaccio, but were burnt by the French. A minister was directly sent from the Republic, to give to Corsica another constitution.

A treaty of peace was signed between the Republic and Naples; it was mutually agreed, that neither of the powers should furnish troops, ships, money, or other assistance to their enemies, under any pretext whatever, and that the earliest opportunity should be embraced for concluding between them such a commercial treaty as might be for the advantage of both. His Majesty, the King of the two Sicilies, pledged himself to keep the strictest neutrality with respect to the whole of the belligerent powers, and admit none of their ships of war into any of its ports, if they exceeded four in number. His ports were to be open to all trading vessels of the Republic, but their ships of war were to be restricted to four.

Bonaparte formerly granted an armistice to the Duke of Parma, which was now to be turned into a treaty of peace, under the mediation of the King of Spain, and in the person of the Marquis del Campo, his plenipotentiary at Paris. This treaty was nearly the same as that between France and the King of the Two Sicilies. The Duke was to grant a free passage through his dominions

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The Pope wavers in his conduct.

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to the troops of the Republic, but to refuse the same privilege to the forces of any of the Combined Powers at war with France. The Pope was not so successful in treating with the Republic ; for, although he was totally unable to contend with so formidable an enemy, when Marshal Wurmser gained any success, he disdained to treat with France ; but, when Bonaparte was everywhere triumphant, he changed his tone and behaviour ; the Directory, therefore, did not think proper to close with his Holiness till they had humbled him still more.

Wurmser had collected in the Tyrol the wrecks of the Austrian army, and received powerful reinforcements, while Bonaparte was employed in his expedition to Leghorn and against the States of the Pope. After the engagement of Borghetto, the Imperialists retreated to the mountains, with an intent to dispute the passes of the Tyrol ; they fortified their lines from the lake of Garda to the Adige with infinite labour. Massena ordered General Joubert to attack the Imperialists by the Bochetta di Champion ; the French climbed up the rocks, killed 100 men, and took 200 prisoners, with 400 tents and all the baggage. During this, the chief of battalion, Recco, having carried the important post of Belona, killed 300 men, and took 70 prisoners, the Austrians abandoned their entrenchments. Such was the event of the first battle between the two armies since the new General assumed the command.

Some days after insurrections appeared in the Romagna. General Augereau ordered a body of troops to set out, with cannon and waggons amply supplied. A numerous phalanx presented themselves, and were attacked by the Republican troops, at two points, the one on the side of Imola, and the other on the side of Argenta.

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Mantua closely besieged.

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The defence was terrible ; but after an engagement of three hours, disorder took place amongst the insurgents, and part were cut to pieces, and part saved themselves by flight ; the town of Lugo was surrounded, and delivered up, for three hours, to be pillaged by the troops. Every individual found in arms was put to death. The army returned with an immense booty ; and Bologna exhibited one of the richest fairs that had been witnessed for many years, the plunder being exposed there for sale.

The siege of Mantua was hotly pressed forward ; the garrison made a most gallant resistance. About 4000 men, on the 16th of July, sallied from two of the gates, and drove in all the French advanced posts, and retreated into the city. On the 18th General Murat and Adjutant-General Vignole, with 2000 men, were to attack the right of the Austrian entrenched camp ; while General D'Allemagne, with a strong column, attacked the left. Andreossi, chief of battalion of artillery, with five gun-boats gave a false alarm to the enemy, and, by drawing their fire, enabled the Generals d'Allemagne and Murat to carry disorder into the enemy's ranks. During this, Chasseloup, chief of brigade of engineers, under a fire of grape-shot from the ramparts, directed the opening of the trenches. The batteries of St. George, Pradella, and La Favorite, began to play against the fortress. Soon after the batteries opened, several parts of the town were on fire ; and the custom-house, the palace of Colloredo, and several convents, were reduced to ashes. At day-break, the Austrians made a sally under a dreadful fire from the ramparts ; but the Republicans, posted behind banks, and occupying every place which could protect them from the enemy's fire, waited for them in silence, and annoyed them from

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*The French unpopular in Italy.*

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concealed situations ; the Imperialists returned within the walls, and the French, in the following night, succeeded in completing their trenches.

General Berthier, had summoned the Governor to surrender, observing, that as he was attacked on all sides, he could not long defend the town, and that an ill-judged obstinacy would entirely ruin the unfortunate city ; the laws of war, therefore, prescribed to him to surrender it ; but, if he should persevere in his resistance, he would be responsible for the blood thus uselessly shed, and for the destruction of the place ; a conduct, which should compel the French General to treat him with all the rigours of war. The Count Canto D'Irles, General Commandant, answered, that the laws of honour and of duty compelled him to defend the city entrusted to his command.

Field Marshal Wurmser directed a column towards Salò, from which place, and from Brescia, he dislodged the French, whilst another division of his army compelled the French army to evacuate Verona, and raise the siege of Mantua ; by these successes the Austrians gained an immense quantity of artillery and stores, which the French left behind them.

Bonaparte had the art of inspiring his troops with an enthusiasm which nothing could resist ; yet his severity rendered the French so unpopular in Italy, that before Bonaparte left the siege of Mantua, the French army was everywhere received with execration and insult ; they were refused waggons to convey the sick and wounded to their quarters, and many died on the roads ; the peasants insulted them in the agonies of death ; their superstition represented the French as infidels, whom it was their duty to drive from their country.



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Bonaparte omits the usual conclusion to his despatches.

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In his despatches to the Directory, Bonaparte omitted the common form of conclusion, "Salut et respect."—"Salut" only appeared to his despatches, whilst the other Generals closed theirs in the usual way. Roederer, a principal journalist, expressed his fears at the critical situation in which the Republic was placed, and cited the examples of Sylla, Marius, and Cæsar, who conquered the liberties of their country by dispersing among their armies the treasures they had amassed.

The victories of Wurmser placed the French armies in a very delicate situation. On the 1st of August, the army advanced, while the Austrians detached a force to Castigliona, where General Valette had been left with 1800 men to defend that important post, and to keep the division of Wurmser at a distance; but Valette was completely defeated, and escaped with only half his troops to Monte-Chiaro. Bonaparte, vexed by the issue of this affair, instantly suspended General Valette.

The two armies faced each other on the morning of the 3d. The Imperialists, not waiting the attack of the French, surrounded the advanced guard of General Massena, near Castigliona, and took General Pigeon prisoner, with three pieces of flying artillery. The French had hopes of penetrating the Austrian line, and the latter extended it in order to surround the French; the Imperialists were thrown into disorder, and retreated to Salò; but that place being in the hands of the French, they wandered through the mountains, and many of them were taken. Meantime General Augereau took Castigliona, and during the day maintained several obstinate actions with the enemy, who fought with great bravery.

General Wurmser assembled the remains of his army, and drew up between the village of Scanello, which sup-

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He deceives an Austrian column to surrender.

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ported his right, and La Chiesa, which covered his left. Bonaparte hastened in person to Lonado, to be certain of the number of troops he could detach from it; but on arriving there, a messenger summoned the commandant at Lonado to surrender, which was completely surrounded. Bonaparte had recourse to stratagem; there were but a few hundred men at Lonado, and the place must have surrendered; he ordered the messenger to be brought before him, and his eyes uncovered. Bonaparte told him, that if his General indulged the hope of taking the Commander-in-Chief, of the army of Italy, he had only to advance; that he ought to know that officer was at Lonado, as every one knew the Republican army was at that place; and that all the officers belonging to the division should be responsible for the insult he had been guilty of towards the General in Chief. He then told the messenger, that if his division did not, within eight minutes, lay down their arms, he would have no mercy. The officer was confounded at seeing the General, and returned with his answer. Preparation was now affected to be made for attacking the enemy, when the whole column of 4000 men, with four pieces of cannon, and three standards, laid down their arms. An instance of the successful termination of an affair, occasioned by an extraordinary presence of mind in a critical moment.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

BONAPARTE being satisfied of the destruction of all the hostile corps from Gavardo and Salo, on the 5th of August, ordered the whole army to make a retrograde movement, whilst General Serrurier's division advanced from Marcara, in order to turn General Wurmser's left. This movement had, in some degree, the desired effect, and Wurmser extended his right wing to observe their rear. General Augereau attacked the enemy's centre, while Massena attacked the right; the cavalry, under General Beaumont, proceeded to the right, to support the light artillery and infantry. The French were victorious, and obtained 18 pieces of cannon, and 120 ammunition wagons. The Austrians lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 2000 men. The activity of Bonaparte during the last week, had been incessant, and, it is said, that he had no sleep during all that period.

Augereau and Massena forced the Austrians to raise the siege of Peschiera, and to abandon the line of the Mincio. On the 7th, Augereau passed the Mincio at Peschiera, while General Serrurier advanced to Verona, and got there at ten at night, the very moment the division under General Massena had recovered its former position; the rear guard of the Austrians was yet at Verona, the gates of which were shut, and the drawbridges raised. The Provéditeur of the Venetian Republic being summoned to open them, answered, that he could not comply within two hours; Bonaparte ordered

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**Marshal Wurmser raises the blockade of Mantua.**

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the gates to be burst open with cannon-shot. The French seized all stores in the place, and resumed their former position, while the Imperialists retreated through the Tyrol. The blockade of Mantua being raised by Wurmser, its garrison destroyed the works of the French and carried into the place 140 pieces of heavy artillery, which the latter had left in their trenches, with provisions for a considerable period.

On the news of the successes of the Austrians, it was thought that victory had abandoned the Republican standards. Much agitation was produced at Cremona, Casal Maggiore, and two villages in the environs of this last town. At Cremona, after the surprise of Brescia, it was suggested to preserve the tree of liberty, to hang on it those who had assisted in planting it. At Casal Maggiore, the Commandant, as he was going to embark, was insulted. His embarkation was strongly opposed, and, in trying to escape, he rushed into the river, and there met death. On the 21st of July, the French garrison in the citadel of Ferrara, suddenly left it, having spiked their cannon, and thrown into the river what ammunition they could not carry off; tranquillity was maintained until the arrival of the Vice-Legate, which caused as much surprise as the departure of the French troops. His entry was modest, but having replaced the Papal arms, the Municipality and national guards repaired instantly to the place, when they were again pulled down, and replaced by those of the Republic. On the news of the victories of the French, the Vice-Legate returned to Rome; by the armistice concluded at Bologna, that city and Ferrara were to continue in the possession of the French.

On the 9th, a courier arrived from General Berthier,

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The blockade of Mantua again undertaken by the French.

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to the Citizen Miot, at Florence, and sent forward by the latter to the Chevalier Azzara, the Spanish Ambassador at Rome. He brought news very favourable to the French ; but the general prejudice took him to be a man sent on purpose from Rome, to prevent any credit being paid to the former reports. In the afternoon, two Frenchmen were insulted ; the minister Cacault wanted to despatch a courier to Paris, to acquaint the Directory of these indecencies, but the Chevalier Azzara urged him to forbear, and promised to use every means to obtain proper satisfaction. The French minister, Cacault, positively demanded, that the government should punish those who had insulted the French commissaries. The chief of them, a huntsman of Cardinal Altieri, escaped ; the government determined rigorously to maintain the edict published to guarantee the safety of the French.

At Genoa, some new miracles announced that the end of the successes of the Republican armies was at last arrived, and that they were on the eve of being expelled from Italy ; and the Italians, friendly to Austria, congratulated themselves therewith. The French army harassed General Wurmser in his retreat, who fixed his head quarters on the other side of Trent, after burning some of the flotilla he had established on the Lake of Garda, and evacuating Riva. This gave the French time to restore order in the army, and to exchange the prisoners, whom the successes of the Imperialists had obtained. After some very obstinate encounters, the blockade of Mantua was again commenced, by the division of General Sabugnet.

The Directory received the standards taken by the army of Italy ; on which occasion the Citizen Dutaillys,

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Massena enters Trent.

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Aid-de-camp of General Berthier, was charged with presenting them.

The President of the Directory expressed the lively satisfaction with which the Executive Directory received these trophies of victory, "Brave warrior!" said he, "return to your companions in arms; tell them that the national gratitude strives to emulate their services, and that they may reckon on the esteem of their fellow-citizens, as well as on the admiration of posterity."

The Austrian army, however, prepared to revenge its disasters; but its bravery was again forced to yield to the genius of Bonaparte. The French went to Verona, where they heard that the Imperialists had marched with two-thirds of their forces towards Bassano, and with the other third occupied Alla; they marched forward, and, on the 4th of September, an engagement began with Massena's division, and the head of the column of General Vaubois, advancing from Torbola, attacked the Imperialists on the right bank of the Adige, in the village of Serraville; the contest was dreadful on both sides; the two divisions of the French army, separated by the Adige, seemed emulous of each other; every individual of the army performed prodigies of valour; and the enemy, after two hours hard fighting, quitted their position at Marco, on the left of the Adige, and retreated to Roveredo, availing themselves of all the defensive posts which the ground afforded them.

Vaubois' division crossed the Adige, and effected its junction, and Massena entered Trent, after exchanging a few cannon shot with the enemy's rear guard. Bonaparte, finding that the Imperialists held a strong position at Lavis, behind the river Lavisio, on the road to Botzen, attacked the Austrians in person with his vanguard. His

progress, however, was stopped by the gallant defence of the enemy; but Vaubois' division arriving, the passage of the bridge was effected, and the entrenchments in the village were forced.

Before the French General entered the Tyrol, he issued a proclamation, stating, that the French army were victorious, and came as friends into their country, with every intention of doing good, and enjoining them to submit; that their religion and property should be respected, but that all found taking part against France should suffer death.

On Bonaparte's arrival at Trent, he arranged an administration for the Principality; he ordered that all acts should be in the name of the French Republic. All strangers holding public employments, were obliged to quit the territory of Trent in 24 hours, and the Council were to replace them by natives of the country. The Commandant-General of the place was to hold the office of Captain of the city, and the Council was charged with the execution of the decree on their responsibility.

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## CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE hopes of the campaign were now centered in the Archduke Charles, and all the blunders of the war were to be repaired by the talents of this Prince; it was known that the French had considerable supplies from

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The Archduke Charles commands the Austrian army.

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the armies of the North and of the Rhine, to reinforce the army of Italy, but this was looked on as a favourable circumstance, which would render victory more certain where it was meant to seek it : and so few doubts were entertained of the speedy subjugation of France, that the Combined Powers only permitted the armistice to continue, till fine weather should enable them to take a pleasant march to Paris.

On the 23rd of May 1796, the Austrian Commander in Chief, informed General Jourdan, that the armistice was to cease, and that hostilities would commence on the last day of that month. General Jourdan accordingly marched with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, when General Marceau repulsed the Austrians on the right bank of the Nahe, and the French General Championet was equally successful at Nidder Diebach. General Kleber, on the same day, marched towards the Sieg, and on the 1st of June, obtained a victory over the Austrians, who lost 2400 men, including wounded and prisoners.

The Archduke pursued Lefebvre on the 16th, and General Kray, with 32 squadrons of light horse, and ten battalions of infantry, a corps of riflemen, and a number of artillery horse, marched towards Cologne and Dusseldorff. General Kleber was defeated, but passed the Sieg in the night, and continued his route to Dusseldorff, while Jourdan crossed at Neuwied with the rest of his army, the Archduke having given him but little trouble during his retreat.

Marshal Wurmser was attacked by General Moreau ; he was stationed between Frankendal and the Rehut, his front protected by a canal, and his left wing by the Rebach. The French passed the fortifications, with the water up to their chins, in defiance of a tremendous fire



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General Desaix ordered to engage the Austrians.

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of musketry and cannon; they engaged the Austrians with unexampled impetuosity, took their front works, and made bridges for the passage of their cavalry; the Austrians were defeated, and obliged to take shelter under the cannon of Manheim. The most part of the Austrian forces having gone towards the Lower Rhine, to pursue General Jourdan, orders were sent by the Directory to General Moreau, to cross the river, which he effected on the 24th. The Republicans carried all the works in the islands of the Rhine with the bayonet, and with such rapidity, that the Austrians could not destroy the bridges which kept up their communication with their different divisions; and they fell into the hands of the French.

General Laroche made himself master of the Mountain of Knubis, said to be the highest of the groupe called the Black Mountains, taking two standards, two pieces of cannon, and 400 prisoners. Next day Freiburg was carried by General Saint Cyr, with the bayonet. The march of the Republican left wing was always interrupted by conflicts with the enemy; but at Ost, the Imperial General La Tour made a vigorous opposition, but without effect; on the same day, Bibrach, in the valley of Kintzig, was taken possession of by General Feriot. Possessed of Freiburg, General Moreau could not against the left wing of the Archduke's army, and cut off his communication with the Prince of Condé. It also laid open to him the territory of the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the roads which led to the Austrian magazines at Villengen and Rothwiel.

General Desaix had orders to engage the Austrians at Rastadt on the 4th of July. To oblige them to abandon Rastadt by turning their left, General Lecourbe attacked

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*The French enter Frankfort.*

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them between Olbach and the mountains, while General Decaen was ordered to seize, if possible, on the bridge of Kuppenheim, and dislodge them from the mountains; and, after an obstinate conflict of three hours, the Republicans forced them to abandon Kuppenheim. The left side of the river was still possessed by the Austrians near Olbach; the passage was forced by the French infantry, who also attacked the wood of Nidderbichel, and after a contest of three hours they were successful, while another demi-brigade of infantry took possession of the woods near Ottersdorff. Both wings of the Austrian army being nearly surrounded, were under the necessity of seeking shelter by repassing the Murg. The French made 1300 prisoners, but their own loss was perhaps more considerable, as the Austrians, from their position, could act with greater advantage.

General Desaix began his operations with the left wing by attacking the village of Malsch, where he fought from nine in the morning till ten at night, when he took the village, and made 500 prisoners. The Imperial army was checked by Suzanne and Delmas, stationed between Muchentern and Ettingen, in defiance of the efforts of Prince Charles, who headed them in person.

The right wing of the Republican army proceeded to the plains of the Maine, and the left took its station before Frankfort. The magistrates were summoned to surrender, which was strenuously opposed by the Austrian garrison. The French began a bombardment, when many parts of the city being suddenly in flames, the garrison agreed to surrender, and the Republicans on the next morning entered in triumph.

The Archduke Charles was eagerly pursued by the Republicans, and upon learning that the French meant

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The Austrians driven from Stutguard.

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to cut off his communication with General Frolich and the Prince of Condé, who were marching to Stutguard, the Archduke deemed it expedient to retire to Vahingen. Moreau posted some troops at Bruchsal, to watch the motions of the enemy in Philipsburg and Mannheim. General St. Cyr, after an obstinate conflict, drove the Austrians from Stutguard. His next object was to make them abandon their posts in the rear of that town; the attack commenced at four in the afternoon with uncommon severity, against General Baillet and Prince John of Lichtenstein. The former defended himself most gallantly till evening, when, as the Republicans could occupy the ground on the right flank of the Prince of Lichtenstein, the fire of their musketry crossed in their ranks, orders were sent to General Devay, then on his march, to come forward with the utmost dispatch. He arrived when the troops under the command of the Prince of Lichtenstein were in danger of being totally destroyed, and compelled the Republicans to retire. The Prince gallantly effected the passage of the Neckar on the 19th, and encamped his troops at Felbach, that he might keep up a communication with Ulm, without experiencing any important opposition.

The Archduke, with a considerable part of his army, marched from Nordlingen, crossing the Eger, to guard the roads to Donawerth. The Republicans compelled General Hotze to abandon his position on the 8th, but the attempts against General Riese were defeated. The Prince of Condé had retired to Mannheim, where his Royal Highness was informed of the critical situation of Wartensleben, who durst not hazard an engagement with General Jourdan, to which the Republican commander wished if possible to force him. General Moreau arrived

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*The Archduke retreats to Donawerth.*

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on the 9th, and next day came to an engagement with the left wing of the army of General Hotze, which they fought with the utmost fury, obliging his advanced posts to give way. On the 11th the Archduke made preparations for a general attack on the Republicans; his principal army was in three columns or divisions, the centre being commanded by the Prince of Furstenberg, the right wing by General Hotze, and the left by La Tour. The centre and left were to engage the same divisions of the Republican army, while the division under General Riese repulsed them in the vicinity of Laningen, continuing its route with a few to reach the rear of Moreau's station. It was settled that a strong advanced guard should manœuvre on the left wing of the French army, to compel them to abandon the heights of Umenheim. The battle took place on the 10th, at seven in the morning, when the Austrian army repulsed the advanced guard of the Republicans; but the division which proceeded to Umenheim was under the necessity of retiring. By this the right flank of General Hotze being exposed, he was obliged to fall back to Forcheim; but the Prince of Furstenberg and General La Tour were enabled to maintain the advantages they had acquired. The conflict was most desperate, and continued seventeen hours; but when the Archduke was strengthening his right wing to bring it again into action, he received intelligence that Wartensleben was obliged to retreat towards Amberg, and that a division of General Jourdan's army had reached Nurnberg, with the intention of uniting its strength to the forces under General Moreau; this made his Royal Highness conclude, that if he should be finally defeated the consequences might be alarming. He therefore reluctantly determined to decline an attack, although Gen.

Riese had proceeded successfully to Haydenheim, by obliging the French Etat-Major-General to retreat to Königsbron, and got possession of four leagues of country in the rear of the French army. At the approach of day the Austrians began their retreat towards Donawerth.

The Archduke arrived at Donawerth on the 13th. There he passed the Danube and encamped his army at Rain, behind the Acha, eight miles east-south-east of Donawerth.

The Republican General brought his troops to Dillingen and Laningen, to pass the Danube, as the Austrians had made it impracticable to cross at any other place. Meanwhile General Ferinot took the route to Bregantz, where he seized a number of mortars, one howitzer, 22 pieces of cannon, 40 large barges, and 40,000 sacks of oats, flower, and barley. By these wonderful movements the Republicans established a communication between the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, the Rhine and Moselle, and the army of Italy under General Bonaparte.

The Archduke determined to march to the relief of Wartensleben, whom Jourdan had pursued almost to Ratisbon; Wartensleben, however, retreated towards Wurtzburg. On the 24th the garrison of Koenigstien surrendered by capitulation: here the victors found an immense quantity of military stores.

The Victories of the French gave great uneasiness to the court of Vienna, as each day was more calamitous than the former one, and the very throne of Germany seemed tottering to its basis. The destruction of his armies in Italy, and the progress of Jourdan and Moreau, made a strong impression on the mind of the Emperor, whose government now seemed to lie at the mercy of France; yet was that prince forced to witness further

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**Several German Princes make Peace with France.**

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disasters in the degradation of the Princes of the empire, who were now compelled to make peace on any terms.

A treaty of peace was concluded on the 6th of August, between the Duke of Wertemberg and France, which was ratified by the legislative body. By virtue of this treaty the Republicans got all his rights and revenues on the left side of the Rhine, and his Serene Highness engaged to banish from his territories all Emigrants and exiled priests.

An armistice was concluded between France and the circle of Suabia, on the 27th of July, by which it agreed to furnish the Republic with money and stores. A treaty of peace between the Marquis of Baden and France was ratified at Paris on the 22d of August. The Elector of Bavaria sent ambassadors to treat with General Moreau, while the Dist of Ratisbon gave much alarm, by resolving to lay before his Imperial Majesty its wishes for a general pacification. The Republic, however, did not grant an armistice to any of these states, without obtaining very valuable considerations for the most trifling concessions; and no neutrality, no truce, no peace, was obtained by the weaker powers, without heavy contributions of this nature.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE contributions levied by General Moreau were very excessive, but Jourdan was much more extravagant in his demands on the Deputies of Franconia, with whom General Ernouf concluded an armistice. The Circle was to pay 6,000,000 of livres to the Republic, and furnish necessaries for the army to the amount of 2,000,000 more; to be paid in the space of forty-five days. Soon after the Deputies were astonished at a letter they received from Général Ernouf, stating that the business of the armistice was contrary to the sentiments of the Commander in Chief, who declared it null and void; and when Jourdan was requested to explain his designs, he refused to return any satisfactory answer.

A sense of danger seemed to inspire the cabinet of Vienna with a degree of energy suitable to the occasion, and instead of eking out their resources, as if to make them sufficiently durable, it began to collect them with a view to render them sufficiently powerful. The Archduke having abandoned Donawerth, occupied a strong position behind the Lech, where it joins the Danube, but having information that a division of the Republicans under General Bernadotte was marching towards Ratisbon, while Jourdan's army was directly in front of Wartensleben's, his Royal Highness marched troops along the right bank of the Danube, leaving General La Tour to watch Moreau, while he himself meant to pass the river

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**The Austrians retreat to Sultzbach.**

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at Ingolstadt, to act against Jourdan, while General Wartensleben was to engage him in front. He passed the Danube on the 17th, both at Neuberg and Ingolstadt, in which last fortress he placed a very strong garrison, not merely to protect his own rear, but also to annoy the left flank of General Moreau, should he put in execution his intention of marching to Ratisbon and Landshut.

General Jourdan ordered Lefebvre to engage the right flank of the Austrians encamped at Sultzbach, where a large body of troops, with a powerful train of artillery, had been stationed by General Wartensleben. Lefebvre succeeded in forcing the Austrians to abandon the heights after a gallant resistance. The Republican centre was charged with the attack on the enemy's front before Sultzbach, and General Ney, to facilitate this object, marched with the vanguard from Herspruck towards Sultzbach, by the only road that was practicable for the conveyance of artillery. The distance was twenty-two miles, the whole road being flanked by lofty mountains, which enabled the Imperialists to do incredible mischief to the Republicans.

General Ney gave orders to attack the woods with the bayonet, while his right wing, to deceive the Austrians as to the ultimate point of attack, was ordered to ascend the hill. The Imperialists under General Hohenlohe began a heavy fire from the woods but the French troops entering it, the Austrians, unable to resist, left them the possession of it. General Jourdan changing his position, ordered General Colaud's division to support his vanguard, which, with the Generals Ney and Grenier, enabled the right wing of the Republican army to turn the left of the Austrians, and made them retreat to Sultzbach, their strongest, though only remaining position.



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The Austrians retreat in the Night.

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Sultzbach was wholly inaccessible in front, the skirts of it were defended by artillery and infantry. A small plain on the left of the rock, being encircled with woods, the position of the Republicans prevented their reaching it, except through a narrow defile. As it did not strike the Austrians that their left was in danger, they neglected to take possession of a hamlet, environed with trees and hedges, as well as of that part of the wood beyond the plain. This did not escape General Jourdan, who ordered General Ney to occupy the hamlet with light infantry, and Grenier was to get possession of the wood at the head of a brigade. The Austrians, on being made acquainted with these manoeuvres, endeavoured to recover the wood, but General Grenier compelled them to fall back towards the rock. The plain being held by the Republicans they commenced a heavy cannonading against the enemy.

The heights on the left were at length reached by General Lefebvre, where the enemy fought with the most determined bravery. The troops by which the place was defended retreated in the night, which prevented Lefebvre from pursuing them; but as he was now master of the heights, the forces could encamp on the field of battle.

Championnet and Bonneau pressed on to Amberg to check the progress of the Austrian troops stationed in that quarter, and came up with the enemy on the heights of Poperg. They were directly attacked by Championnet and Bonneau, who forced them to retreat to Amberg after an obstinate engagement of twelve hours. General Wartensleben changed his head-quarters in the night towards Schwartzfeld, behind the Nab; and on the next day the division under General Grenier, marched

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The Archduke presses on General Jourdan.

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to Amberg, and made the Austrians recross the Wils, one of the feeders of the Nab.

On the 18th, in the evening, Prince Charles was informed of General Wartensleben's being forced to abandon Amberg, and retreat across the Nab. Two days after he reached Hemmau, with his right column, which gave him the command of the road to Ratisbon, and allowed him to annoy the right flank of General Jourdan's army, which had marched towards the Nab. On the 22nd, the Archduke's advanced guard engaged the French under General Bernadotte, who had taken a position near the village of Teining. The Republican forces were obliged by the Austrian General Nauendorf, to retreat to Neumarck, from which place he was driven the next day, by the Archduke; he retreated to Nurnberg, which left the right flank and the rear of General Jourdan's army totally exposed; and the military talents of Prince Charles enabled him to profit by the valour of his troops.

The Archduke and General Wartensleben pressed upon General Jourdan on the 24th; the latter moving against the front, and the former against the flank of his army; which must have been followed by a decisive battle, had not the Republican Commander-in-Chief been induced to retreat. General Bernadotte evacuated Nurnberg, and, in great haste, marched on towards Forcheim, while the Austrians at Leuff made it impossible for Jourdan to carry that passage. General Kleber retreated towards Pegnitz, where he received the orders of General Jourdan to march directly for Pondenstein, where he arrived at midnight. The Archduke having despatched Nauendorf by the way of Ratisbon, to co-operate with General La Tour, to threaten the left flank

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General Jourdan still retreats.

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of Moreau, continued his pursuit of the French Commander-in-Chief. By the skilful movements of the Archduke, Jourdan, on the 29th, found it necessary to retreat to Bamberg, where he took possession of both sides of the Rednitz. He was pursued by the Archduke, but his retreat was well covered.

General Moreau sought to gain intelligence of the movements of the Austrians along the Danube ; but it does not appear that he was acquainted with the sad reverses experienced by General Jourdan. General Desaix had orders to attack the enemy at Ingolstadt, on the 1st of September, and oblige them to destroy the bridge ; the Republicans were attacked by the enemy at day-break, when La Tour was reinforced by detachments from the Prince under General Nauendorf, who, on his march, defeated the French, and forced them to take shelter in a wood. This was followed by a desperate battle, when the Republicans were enabled to repulse La Tour with great loss.

An officer was sent to acquaint the Commander in Chief with the state of affairs, but he lost his way, and Moreau's army were not engaged ; the issue of the campaign might have been quite different, had Moreau brought his forces into the field.

General Jourdan arrived at Schweinfurth, whither he had retreated by forced marches. Prince Charles reached Bamberg on the 31st, crossed the Main on the 2nd and 3rd of September, and soon got possession of Wurtzburg, to which place General Jourdan used every exertion to arrive before them, and was only three leagues from it, on the day it was taken possession of by General Hotze. Jourdan made a dreadful attack on the advanced guard of General Hotze, but could not make any

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General Marceau wounded.

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impression on their line, and returned to his camp at Hornach.

General Wartensleben was to pass the bridge at Detelbach, and engage Jourdan's centre, while General Kray was charged with turning his left wing. The attack was begun by the troops under General Stzarray, but the Republicans made him fall back, and deprived him of his first position. Wartensleben crossed the river with his cavalry, and came to action with the left wing of the French. Jourdan weakened his right wing, in order to strengthen his left, and thus enabled Stzarray to resume his former station. The left of Jourdan's army was repulsed by the Austrian cavalry, and obliged to take refuge behind the wood: his left wing was impetuously attacked by numbers superior to his own, and Jourdan again commenced a retreat, and again experienced misfortunes.

The retreat was committed to the youthful and gallant General Marceau, to be covered from the enemy, till the Republicans were able to evacuate the defiles of Altenkirchen. Some French chasseurs in a wood, firing upon some Austrian hussars, Marceau arrived to reconnoitre the ground, with an officer and some artillery. A Tyrolean chasseur recognised his rank, and discharged a carbine at him, the contents of which passed through his body. The General descended from his horse; was taken to Altenkirchen, and carried through the columns by the grenadiers. On the next day, Altenkirchen was occupied by the enemy's advanced guard; and when the Austrian General, Haddick, was told of the circumstance, he sent the wounded French General a guard of safety, accompanied by General Kray. This ancient warrior could not avoid shedding tears; he was opposed to

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His death and burial.

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Marceau for two years past; and, in the midst of conflict, these two generous minds only waited for peace to manifest their sentiments. Hopes of saving Marceau were still kept up, and Prince Charles's principal surgeon exerted himself to the utmost, in vain. In the morning the symptoms were more dangerous; the General was seized with a heaviness in his head, and expired about six o'clock. The Austrian regiments of Barco and Blankenstein, who knew him on the field of battle, disputed the honour of paying him the last offices; but they were prevented, as the French officers attending him, prevailed upon Prince Charles to allow his remains to be given to his brethren in arms. The Prince requested, that the Austrians might be acquainted with the moment of his interment, to join with the French in performing the last military honours; his body was interred in the fortified camp at Coblenz, under the discharge of the artillery of both armies.

Marceau had well served the Republic in the field; his comrades, and their enemies, both admired his bravery and honoured his memory, and the solemnities, which the contending armies assisted to heighten; were heard of at Paris, and listened to with enthusiastic attention; and the Parisians fancied that the respect paid to the deceased Republican General, was a homage to the genius and glory of the Republic.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE Republicans having re-crossed the Rhine at three different places, the Archduke detached a force towards Ukareth and the Sieg, taking the route towards the Maine, with the remainder of his forces, which river he crossed on the 25th, to commence hostilities against General Moreau, leaving a sufficient force between Mayence and Francfort. After the defeat of Jourdan, Moreau could not possibly penetrate farther into Bavaria nor remain for any time in the places he then occupied; and Prince Charles could send larger reinforcements to General La Tour in proportion as Jourdan retired from the Danube and the Maine. The coolness and talents of Moreau had room for exertion, and were, perhaps never exceeded on any similar occasion.

The hostile armies engaged on the 7th of September near Mainbur; the Austrians were defeated by the centre of the Republican army, and 500 of them taken prisoners. Three days after, General Moreau commenced a retreat taking the route towards Meuberg, and a number of bloody conflicts took place. When he was hard pressed by the Austrians, he united his forces in one body, and fell upon them with such fury that he forced them to retire, and fell back by degrees towards the Rhine. A detachment from the Archduke, strengthened by troops from Mannheim and Philipzburg, attacked General Sherer on the 13th, who was stationed at Bruchsal, and obliged him to retreat to Kehl. Here the Republi-

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**The Austrians driven from Kehl**

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cans were again attacked by all the forces the enemy could collect, who succeeded in getting as far as the head of the bridge, over the Rhine, where they were checked by the batteries of that place, and were thrown into the utmost confusion. The works of importance remained with the Republicans, who drove the Austrians from the town of Kehl by a tremendous fire. The national guards of Strasburg, were ordered by General Moreau to secure Kehl, the bridge and the forts on the isles of the Rhine, as of the utmost importance in his retreat.

Moreau engaged the Austrians near Steinhausen, in the most furious manner, and La Tour was near being totally ruined, although he met the Republicans with all his force. Prince Charles directed his march along the right bank of the Rhine, with a view to cut off the retreat of General Moreau, and arrived at Radstadt on the 5th of October. To annoy the Republican army in its retreat, a body of Austrians were stationed between the Neckar and the Danube, as well as to cover all the passes of the Black Forest and mountains.

As General Moreau had sufficient time to think of his farther retreat, he took the route of Stockach with the principal part of his army. All the defiles in his flank and rear were occupied by the Austrians, while the rapid movements of the Archduke evinced a determination to destroy the bridges on the Rhine, prior to his arrival there. Nothing but the greatest courage and intrepidity were able to extricate the French from their situation, for all communication with France was totally cut off.

To force the passage of the Black Forest the Republicans had yet to accomplish; the centre of the French army made a violent attack on the Austrians, stationed in the Val d'Enfer, a most terrific defile, narrowed by lofty

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General Wartensleben dangerously wounded.

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mountains for several leagues, nor more in some places than ten fathoms wide. The right and left wings soon cleared the defile, without any loss, and reached Freiburg on the 13th, taking possession of Waldkirch on the ensuing day, and ranging themselves along the heights on the right bank of the Eltz, while the convoys and baggage under the protection of the right wing, passed by the way of the Forest towns. On finding that it was not practicable to prevent the retreat of General Moreau, La Tour proceeded to join Prince Charles near Hornberg, and the Prince of Condé and General Frolich pursued the French, while retreating through the Black Forest and mountains. The Archduke having united his forces, gave battle to the left wing and centre of the Republican army. Wartensleben, with the centre division, was to force the heights behind Martinsell; and General Petrasch, with the left wing, was ordered to march to Emendingen. La Tour, who commanded the right, had a terrible opposition, being repeatedly repulsed in his attempts on Kinsingen, till the Archduke with the grenadiers, made himself master of the village. Upon this occasion, General Wartensleben was dangerously wounded in the arm, while bringing the centre into action.

The Austrians attacked Nimburg, or Newenburg, but without any important effect. The next day, General Moreau retired towards Huninguen, where a large bridge was established. His position was formidable, his right wing touching the Rhine, his left at Kandern, and his centre division at Schlingen, where he meant to remain for some time, if the Austrians did not make him alter his resolution. The Imperial army moved on the 23rd in four columns: those commanded by the Prince of Condé and the Prince of Furstenberg were to manœuvre



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General Bournonville appointed to command.

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so as to prevent the Republicans from sending troops from their left; the others, under La Tour and Nauendorf, were to attack the left wing, and endeavour to turn their flank. After an obstinate conflict, which lasted till night, the Republicans retreated to Altingen, and passed the Rhine at Auninguen, without any opposition from the enemy. This last movement ended a retreat, which can scarcely be equalled in history, and which will transmit the talents of General Moreau to posterity with unfading glory and honour.

Illness having made General Jourdan resign the command, it was given to General Bournonville, Commander in Chief of the northern army.

The Austrians made many spirited efforts to gain possession of Kehl, and the bridge of Huningen, but were still repulsed; the Archduke durst not leave the Brigaw exposed to General Moreau, and the conquest of Kehl was of the greatest importance to secure his troops while in winter quarters.

The Archduke resolved on a regular siege; and opening his trenches on the 25th of November, he commenced a cannonading, which lasted fifteen days without interval. A second attack was made upon it on the 25th of December, when its defence became doubly dangerous and difficult, the intercourse with Strashurg being cut off by breaking down the bridge, and rendering the boats totally useless. After finishing their second parallel, the Austrians attacked and carried the Republican camp and the battery which defended it. The French were again rallied by General Lacombe; and, that they might fight with determined valour, he destroyed the bridges to prevent their return. This had the effect, and they defeated the Austrians with much loss.

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Kehl surrenders to the Austrians.

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The artillery of the Austrians was now too dreadful for the Republicans to withstand; they had no communication with the opposite bank, and no hope of any relief. General Desaix proposed a capitulation to the Archduke, and he signed it, allowing the French 24 hours to carry off their artillery and stores.

The surrender of Kehl ended this desperate campaign on the Rhine, at the conclusion of which it appears, that the hostile nations had more respect for each other than they had previously entertained. Both had fought with so much valour, as left it doubtful whether most honour was due to the conquerors or the vanquished, and the struggle had been kept up without either side committing any act of cruelty or perfidy dishonourable to the character of the bravest soldier.

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CHAPTER XL.

THE long defence maintained by the garrison of Kehl, diverted the attention of the Archduke Charles from the affairs of Italy, whence he intended to follow Wurmsier, to stop the career of the victorious Bonaparte, and the French Government took this interval to increase the strength of their brave army. The want and wretchedness of which the troops had such reason to complain, during the whole of the war, seemed now to disappear, and from this time, quitting the simplicity and virtue of

a Republican Leader, the seeds of ambition were sown in the breast of the great General.

Every soldier was now rewarded to the full extent of his services, and, instead of the proud character of a public Creditor, found himself under daily obligations to that General, by whom alone he judged his comforts were increased. Every individual gave praise to the Commander-in-Chief, as the restorer of all order, the provider of all good, and the object of their adoration and their hope.

The stern language of the Republicans were softened by the manners of the candidate for a crown, and the views and conduct of Bonaparte were guided entirely by his own interest. What a moment to cherish the ambition of an ardent and aspiring mind! Placed at the head of armies, whose devotion would have made them follow him in the most romantic expeditions, hailed by all the world as the victor over the greatest generals of the universe, who were obliged to acknowledge their admiration of his talents and their submission to his arms; he must have been more or less than human who would have refused to take to himself the advantages that the state of things offered to him, for the mere sake of having his forbearance and virtue recorded by the few who would have had sense enough to discern it.

The retreat of the armies from Germany left Bonaparte without hope of any movement in his favour in the Tyrol, which he expected from Moreau; but if he had no hope from co-operation he had no fear from a rival; and having completed his arrangements for the campaign in Italy, he prepared to frustrate the attempts that the Austrians were making to preserve Mantua; and Field-Marshal Marmur, with all his misfortunes, persevered with

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General Wurmser escapes the French.

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a constancy which procured him greater glory than has been gained by all the German Generals who preceded him in Italy.

A rapid march of twenty leagues in two days disconcerted the Imperialists. On the 8th the army was in motion, and near the village of Solagna fell in with the Austrians. Augereau and Massena about seven in the morning began the engagement; the Imperialists were at length routed, when General Murat sent cavalry in pursuit of them. The French marched to Bassano, which was still occupied by General Wurmser, and his headquarters. General Wurmser and the treasure of the army escaped only by a moment. In six days the French fought two battles, and came to four engagements; they took twenty-one standards, and several thousand prisoners; and though they fought in defiles, they advanced in these six days upwards of forty-five leagues, and took seventy pieces of cannon, with their waggons and equipments.

Marshal Wurmser fled to Montebello, between Vicenza and Verona. On the 9th Augereau proceeded to Padua, and took part of the baggage of the Austrian army, with 400 men who escorted it; his intention was to cut off Wurmser's retreat to Trieste. Massena marched from Vicenza the same day, to advance to the Adige and cross it at Ronco. Bonaparte on leaving Trent had left General Kilmaine at Verona, with orders to plant artillery on the ramparts, but his force was unable to controul a populous town and repulse a numerous army, who would spare nothing to render them masters of so important a post. General Wurmser defiled the whole night of the 9th along the Adige, which he crossed at Porto-Legnago. On the 10th Massena passed the Adige

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Marmont sent to Paris with Trophies.

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at Ronco: at day-break on the 11th Bonaparte directed General Massena, who had crossed the Adige during the night, to march to Sanguinetto to obstruct the passage of the Austrians from Porto-Legnago to Mantua, and, by placing them between two fires, capture General Wurmser and all his army. General Sahuguet, who was before Mantua, was directed to send 5000 men to get possession of Governolo, a point whereby the Austrians might escape; they were also to occupy Castellare, and destroy all the bridges on the river Tavone as far as Ponte Molino. General Murat, with a detachment of light horse, arrived at Cerea, and falling in with Wurmser's division, defeated some squadrons of cavalry. General Pigeon, who commanded Massena's advanced guard, finding the cavalry engaged, pushed forward his light infantry to sustain them, and took possession of a bridge across which the Austrians were obliged to pass. Wurmser immediately made his dispositions, and having defeated the French advanced guard, retook the village and bridge of Cerrea. Bonaparte, attracted by the cannonade, hastened to the spot, but the moment was lost.

The Citizen Marmont, aid-de-camp of General Bonaparte, conveys to Paris twenty-two standards taken from the Imperialists; he was presented to the Directory by the Minister of War, in presence of a crowd of citizens, whom the ceremony had attracted.

Marmont then addressed the Directory by observing, that the twenty-two standards he presented were taken in fourteen days. The victories of the army of Italy were a sure pledge of its affection for the Republic; it knew how to defend the laws and how to obey them, as well as to combat external enemies. "Deign," added he, "to consider it as one of the firmest columns of liberty; and

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Great rejoicings at Bologna.

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believe, that while the soldiers composing it exist, the government will have intrepid defenders."

Revelliere Lepaux, President of the Directory, made an impressive reply, and presented him with a pair of pistols.

A peace was negotiated, or rather accepted by the Duke of Parma. This was highly advantageous to the French, who required every thing that could be asked, and received every thing that was required.

Reggio was in arms, and expelled the troops of the Duke of Modena that formed its garrison; Ferrara and Bologna sent deputies to offer their assistance. The Regency that governed the states of the Duke of Modena since his flight began to repair the fortifications of his capital, but the French entered the town on the 8th of October, declared the armistice broken by the sovereign of Modena, and took under their protection the people of that city and of Reggio.

In a sitting at Bologna, called by the French, it was decided, that the senate as well as its individual members should receive and give only the title of Citizen. On the 16th of October the tree of liberty was planted in the grand square, amidst the joyous acclamations of *Viva la Repubblica Francese*, and a grand illumination took place. Some persons, however, occasioned a tumult, during which there were several excesses; but Bonaparte having arrived, published a proclamation, in which he stated, that the constitution and the national guard would forthwith be organised. He declared himself the enemy of tyrants, but above all, the sworn foe of villains, plunderers, and anarchists; and that he was determined to order those to be shot who violated social order.

Ferrara joined in every measure to establish a republican administration; and at Genoa the French solemnized

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Bonaparte writes to General Berthier and Cardinal Matthei.

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the anniversary of the fifth year of the Republic. Discontents, however, were shewn in many parts of Italy; the inhabitants of the Imperial Fiefs were again tempted to insurrection against the French, who had entered these Fiefs to the number of 1000 men. The conveyance of powder and other warlike stores into the Fiefs, had excited suspicions, and Bonaparte ordered the Governor of Tortona to send a detachment to the Fiefs. The particulars of this expedition are unknown, but many persons were taken in arms, and shot, and depots of arms and stores were discovered. The French were annoyed in the mountainous parts of Montserrat: the convoys destined for the French armies were often dispersed, and General Dujard of the artillery had been killed. Bonaparte, however, caused the malcontents to be defeated and put to flight; scarcely a day passed without numbers of them being shot.

Bonaparte, in a letter to General Berthier, published at Milan, mentioned that he was informed several Genoese merchants had left Genoa, and taken refuge in Milan, pretending that the French were to bombard Genoa; he directed that they should leave Lombardy immediately, and return home, as it was his wish to prevent the malevolent from disturbing the Genoese people, to whom he owed obligations, on account of the grain they had furnished in a time of scarcity, and the friendship they had always shewn towards the Republic.

From a similar motive Bonaparte wrote a letter to Cardinal Matthei, in which, after observing that the circumstances the latter was placed in were truly novel, he stated, to this cause alone he wished to attribute the essential faults committed by him. The moral and christian virtues, which the world acknowledged in the Car-

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Royalty abolished in Lombardy.

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dinal, made the General desire he would return to his diocese, and assure the ministers of religion, and the different congregations, of the special protection the French General would grant them whilst they forbore to intermeddle in politics. He also ordered that the uniforms of the legions of the Cispadane cities should be the same as that of the Milanese, and ordered all strangers, priests as well as seculars, employed under the regal government, and in the service of the Archduke and Emperor, to leave the Milanese in fifteen days, unless they had been employed for upwards of fifteen years. The Committee of Government of Lombardy published a proclamation in the name of the French Republic, abolishing royalty for ever, and no one was to have any title but that of Citizen, or that conferred by his office or professions.

Thus did Bonaparte, by his masterly arrangements, secure the influence of France in those states which he had conquered with her armies.

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## CHAPTER XLI.

BONAPARTE hearing that an Austrian corps was advancing and had encamped on the Piava, detached General Massena to Bassano on the Brenta, with orders to retreat to Vicenza the instant the enemy passed the Piava. He also ordered General Vaubois to attack the Austrian posts in the Trentin, and above all to drive them from their



## General Augereau beats the Austrians.

positions between the Lavisio and the Brenta. The attack was on the 2d, when the French made a very spirited resistance; General Guieux carried St. Michael, and burnt the enemy's bridge; but the Austrians rendered abortive the attack of the French on Segonzano, and the 85th demi-brigade suffered greatly. Bonaparte ordered Segonzano to be attacked, and at the same time hearing that the Imperialists had passed the Piava, he pressed forward with Augereau's division; and having joined the division of Massena at Vicenza, marched on the 5th to meet the Austrians, who had passed the Brenta. The action was obstinate and bloody, but success inclined to the French, who kept the field of battle, while the Austrians repassed the Brenta.

The Austrians attacked General Vaubois, and threatened to turn him in several points; this forced him to retreat to La Pietra. On the 7th an obstinate battle ensued, in which the French took two pieces of cannon, and 1300 prisoners, but on the approach of night, a panic seized part of the troops. On the 8th this division had a position at Riyoli and La Corona, by means of a bridge which Bonaparte had thrown over the river.

The General in Chief arrived with troops at Verona on the 8th at noon. On the 11th he learnt that the Austrians were encamped at Villa Nova; the troops advanced from Verona, and fell in with their vanguard, who were routed and pursued by General Augereau for three miles and a half. On the 12th the French found themselves in presence of the enemy; they engaged them instantly, and the attack was made with skill and gallantry, Massena's division attacking their left, and Augereau's their right; the success of both was complete; Augereau took the village of Caldero and 200 prisoners; Massena flanked the

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The French Troops pass the Adige.

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Imperialists, and took five pieces of cannon ; but the rain, which fell in torrents, having changed suddenly into a kind of hail, driving into the faces of the French troops, favoured the enemy. The Austrians succeeded in retaking the height, and at night both armies kept their respective positions.

Bonaparte knowing that the Imperial army under Field Marshal Alvinzi, approached Verona, to form a junction with the column of his army in the Tyrol, defiled along the Adige with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, and threw a bridge of boats across at Ronco, where the French passed the river. The General had hopes of arriving in the morning at Villa Nova, and taking the enemy's park of artillery and magazines, and attacking them in flank and rear. The head-quarters of General Alvinzi were at Caldero ; but having intelligence of the movements of the French, he had sent a regiment of Croats, and some Hungarian regiments, into the village of Arcola, a post extremely strong, in the midst of marshes and canals.

Before day-break the divisions of Massena and Augereau completed the passage of the Adige, and advanced on two causeways that traverse a morass for several miles. The column commanded by Massena first encountered and drove in the Austrian advanced posts, while that under Augereau, after having compelled their posts to fall back, was stopped at the village of Arcola, now held by the Imperial troops. A canal that flanked a dyke on the side of the village hindered the French from turning it, and to get possession of it they had to pass under the enemy's fire, and cross by a small bridge, upon which the Imperialists kept up a terrible fire from the adjacent houses, which they had fortified. The French

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Battle of Arcola.

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troops made many efforts to carry the bridge, but were repulsed. It was in vain that their generals threw themselves at the head of the columns, to induce them to pass the little bridge of Arcola; this proved only injurious to themselves; for they were almost all wounded, and several carried out of the field. Augereau, taking a standard, advanced to the bridge, where he remained for several minutes, without causing any effect: it was however, absolutely necessary to pass this bridge, or march several leagues, which would have destroyed the whole operations. Bonaparte, apprised of the difficulties of Augereau, ordered General Guieux to cross the river Adige under the light artillery, at a ferry two miles below Ronco; he was then to bear down on Arcola and turn it; but this march was long, and the day far advanced. It was however necessary to carry Arcola to get on the enemy's rear; Bonaparte, therefore, hastened to the spot; he asked the soldiers if they still were the conquerors of Lodi! His presence caused an enthusiasm among the troops, and confirmed him in his desire to risk the passage; he leaped off his horse, and seizing a standard rushed forward at the head of the grenadiers towards the bridge, crying, "Follow your General!" The column had reached within thirty paces of the bridge, when the terrible fire of the Austrians made it recoil. Generals Vignole and Lasnes were wounded, and Mairon, the General's aid-de-camp, was killed. Bonaparte was thrown from his horse into a marsh, from whence he got out with difficulty under the enemy's fire; he mounted again, and the column rallied; but the Imperialists did not advance to take advantage of the fortunate moment, as they should have done.

The French renounced the design of forcing the village

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The French victorious at Arcola.

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in front, and to wait the arrival of General Guieux, who succeeded in carrying the village, taking four pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners. The Austrian General persevered, and Bonaparte thought it fit to evacuate the village, on learning that the Imperialists had removed all their stores to Vicenza, to advance towards Ronco. On the 16th the Austrians attacked the French in all directions: the column of General Massena defeated the enemy, and pursued them to the gates of Caldero, taking 1500 prisoners, with six pieces of cannon and four standards. Augereau's column repulsed the Austrians, but could not recover the village of Arcola. A judgment may be formed of the firmness displayed on both sides, from the attacks at this village, where several Generals were wounded. The same evening Bonaparte, with a column carrying facines, advanced to the canal to effect a passage, but found it impracticable from the rapidity of the current.

The Austrians' left was supported by the marshes, and kept in check the French right by their superior numbers. Bonaparte ordered Hercules, the officer of his guides, to select twenty-five men of his company, and, advancing along the Adige, turn all the marshes which supported the Austrian left, and fall afterwards at full gallop on the enemy's backs, making several trumpets sound. This manoeuvre was quite successful; the Austrian infantry gave way, but still made resistance, when a small column of eight or nine hundred men, with four pieces of cannon, succeeded in putting them to the route. General Massena marched straight to the village of Arcola, which he took, and pursued the enemy near the village of St. Bonifacio.

Bonaparte wrote to the Director Carnot, and expressed

his hope of being able in ten days to address him from Mantua. "Never," said he, "was a field of battle so valorously disputed as that of Arcola; scarcely have I any generals left; their courage and devotion to their country were without example."

Never was an army in a more critical situation than that of Bonaparte upon this occasion; the Imperialists made the greatest efforts, and had brought from the Austrian states all their disposable forces; and by these means they were enabled to form in Italy a new army, more considerable than the two already exterminated, before the succours sent from France to Bonaparte could join his army; it required all the genius of that General, and the zeal of his brethren in arms, to triumph over the cool courage and bravery of the Austrian armies.

However great the loss sustained by Alvinzi may have been, his army was far from being destroyed: driven into the mountains, it was difficult to attack him, and Bonaparte could not forget that Mantua still held out in his rear. The point was to keep Alvinzi in check, and exclude him all the passes by which he could communicate with Mantua. General Vaubois advanced to Rivoli, but the Imperialists drove him beyond Castel Nuova.

A sortie was made from Mantua on the 23d, but General Kilmaine obliged the troops to return, and took 200 men, a howitzer, and two pieces of cannon. Marshal Wurmser commanded in person; it was the third time he had made a sally, and each time with indifferent success.

Under an idea of having received offence from the Government of Venice, Bonaparte took possession of the citadel of Bergamo. General Baraguey d'Hilliers, commandant of Lombardy, issued a proclamation, stat-

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The Standards taken at Arcola presented to the Directory.

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ing that he was constrained to occupy the town and citadel, to anticipate the enemies of the French Republic, and keep the seat of war at a distance from the habitations of the Bergamese.

The army of General Alvinzi was on the Brenta, and in the Tyrol, while that of the Republic stretched along the Adige, having an advanced guard in front of Verona. Mantua was reduced to the last extremity, as the garrison fed only on horse flesh, whilst General Bonaparte, relying on its surrender, was occupied with his correspondence, and in preparing for the ensuing campaign.

The standards taken at Arcola arrived, and were received by the Executive Directory in a public sitting. The Minister of War presented Lamarois, chief of battalion, and aid-de-camp of General Bonaparte; who, after a long harangue, filled with encomiums on his commander, and his brothers in arms, was answered in the same style. "Return," said the president, "to those brave warriors, tell them the marble of the Pantheon awaits their names, and that they are already engraven on the hearts of all true Frenchmen."

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## CHAPTER XLII.

A PRELIMINARY step to peace was taken, after the installation of the Directory gave the French Government a

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Lord Malmesbury arrives at Paris to treat for Peace.

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settled form; a message had been delivered to Parliament from his Majesty of England, stating the satisfaction with which he saw a change of system in France, which he hoped would remove all that might hinder a general pacification, and an application was made to the French Government, Sept. 9, for passports for a British Envoy to go to Paris, to make overtures for peace. Lord Malmesbury made his entry into Paris, as Plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain, on the 24th of October 1796, and the next day had his first conference with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The negotiation was not began under very favourable auspices, for the Directory took occasion to declare, that they doubted the sincerity of the English Government, and thus shewed a disposition on their part opposite to conciliation.

The British Minister stated the willingness of his court to remove all obstacles to the desired object, that might arise out of mere forms; and that it was willing to take for the basis of peace the principle of restitution. This was sufficient to shew, that England did not carry on the war to increase her own power at the expense of her Allies, and that she desired peace, even at the expense of her conquests, if France would make a similar sacrifice. The Directory rejected this with the most insolent disdain; they had bound themselves by law not to abandon their conquests; and all that could be drawn from the discussions that took place between their Minister and Lord Malmesbury, was, that they were determined to keep what they had taken, and receive back what they had lost. The English negociator declared, that he had not powers to admit this principle, upon which the French Minister, Charles de la Croix, haughtily ordered him to go home and fetch them, and to take care that

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The Negotiation broke off—A French Fleet reaches Ireland.

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neither he, nor any of the persons he brought with him, were found in Paris after the expiration of forty-eight hours. .

Scarcely was the negotiation broken off before the French sent a force against Ireland, to act with a powerful body of the natives, who were to declare that country independent of Great Britain. The body of Irish united for this purpose had despatched Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, as their ambassadors extraordinary to the Directory of France, to obstruct the negotiation with Lord Malmesbury; and these persons, with the French General Hoche, settled the plan of an attack on Ireland, from which the Directory hoped to reap great advantage. Eighteen sail of the line, and thirteen frigates, were fitted out at Brest, to convey troops to the western coast of Ireland. The armament put to sea in December, but was overtaken by a storm, which dispersed the greatest part of the fleet, and obliged it to return to port in a very shattered state. Eight sail only reached Ireland, where, unable to learn the destiny of their commander and the rest of the fleet, they remained only three days, and then quitted Bantry Bay, without attempting to land.

How came they not to land? The truth was, that the Irish wished to establish an independent republic for themselves, and they only wanted the French with a small force to act as auxiliaries; whilst the French wanted to make a conquest of Ireland, that they might either keep it to annoy Great Britain, or barter it with that power for better conditions of peace; hence was the desire of France to land a force to suppress the Irish and expel the English.

From this difference of opinion, the Irish leaders did



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The Court of Rome arms.

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not instruct their friends to assist their Allies in landing, and the French commander would not land a force he knew to be unequal to the designs of the government from whom he had received his instructions. The fleet returned into port, after encountering two very violent storms, in which three ships of the line and three frigates foundered, with the greatest part of their crews.

The Court of Rome had armed, and advanced towards the Romagna the few troops it could keep on foot, with an intention, as was suspected, to disturb the states which had declared themselves free. It appeared to be the wish of the Emperor, that Wurmser should escape from Mantua with his garrison, by throwing himself into the territories of the Pope. Bonaparte drew from his army a body of troops, to assemble at Bologna, and form a moveable column: and, as they arrived in different directions, this gave them the appearance of a corps amounting to upwards of 15,000 men. Rome was apprehensive that this army was meant to act against her, and this belief produced the desired effect. The eye of Bonaparte was on the Po, the Adige, the movements of the enemy, and the exertions of General Wurmser, either to effect a junction or escape, and orders were given to the army to be ready for action.

The Commander in Chief arrived at Bologna with 2000 men, to make an impression on the Court of Rome, and cause it to adopt a pacific system: he also opened a negotiation with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, relative to the garrison of Leghorn; and thought his presence at Bologna would bring this affair to a conclusion. The General was informed that the enemy were in motion on all their line, and that the Austrian division at Padua had on the 8th, attacked the advanced-guard of General Au-

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Bonaparte arrives at Verona.

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gereau, at Bevilacqua, in front of Porto Legnago. The officer who commanded that advanced guard retired to Porto Legnago; but his spirited resistance gave him time to advertise the whole French line of the enemy's march.

Bonaparte ordered the column he had assembled to set out by a forced march, to reinforce General Augereau's division, and oppose the enemy's enterprises on the Lower Adige. He himself set out for the blockade of Mantua, and after giving the necessary orders, proceeded from thence to Verona, where he arrived at the moment the Imperialists attacked in force the advanced guard of Massena's division posted at St. Michael. The contest was severe, but in two hours the Austrians were repulsed.

The Austrians threw a bridge across the river at Auguiari, by which their advanced guard passed; and on the same day Bonaparte learned that General Joubert was forced to evacuate La Corona, to assume a position in front of Rivoli. The General had intelligence that the enemy commenced a lively cannonade on the Adige, between Ronco and Porto-Legnago. The forces in front of General Joubert left no doubt as to the intentions of the Austrians. It was evident that Alvinzi wished to penetrate by Rivoli with his principal forces, and in this direction to reach Mantua. Bonaparte formed his resolution, and put in motion a part of the division of General Massena. He ordered the troops under General Rey, at Desanzano, to advance in different columns to Rivoli, and set out in person with all his *etat-major* for that place, which he reached at midnight. General Bonaparte having assumed the command, directed Joubert to resume the position in front of the plateau of Rivoli, and

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Engagement at Rivoli.

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particularly the post of San-Marco, which had been evacuated. This was the only point by which the enemy could advance their cavalry and artillery, between the Adige and the lake of Garda.

The Commander-in-Chief spent the night in viewing the ground and the position of the Imperialists, who occupied a formidable line, nearly 20,000 strong, their right at Caprino, and their left behind San-Marco. Alvinzi had formed his plan of attack, when he hoped to surround General Joubert's division. This he now strove to execute, without a suspicion of the arrival of the French General in person, or of the reinforcements. The order to retake the small posts in front of the plateau of Rivoli, occasioned a fire of musketry between the advanced posts; but the re-capture of San-Marco by the French, at five in the morning, brought on a general battle, which gave uneasiness to Alvinzi, as it retarded his plan of attack.

One of the Austrian columns proceeded to the plateau of Rivoli, with an intent to carry it, and in this direction threatened to turn the right and centre. Bonaparte ordered General Leclerc to charge the Imperialists if they carried the plateau; a detachment of dragoons was to flank the Austrian infantry, who attacked the French centre. Joubert sent some battalions from the heights of San-Marco, who threw themselves on the plateau, and the Imperialists were driven into the valley of the Adige, leaving a great number of dead, and part of their artillery. The Austrian column which had been on its march to turn the French, and cut off their retreat, formed behind Rivoli, and covered all the heights between the Adige and the Lake of Garda, so that the French line was completely turned. The Austrians, confident of

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*The Austrian Column taken Prisoners.*

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success, exclaimed, "We have them!" and advanced with fury to carry the entrenchments of Rivoli, but were repulsed in three different attacks; meanwhile Bonaparte had planted four pieces of light artillery, that cannonaded the right of the Austrian line. The troops under Generals Brune and Mounier, advanced in three columns and attacked the right wing of the Austrian line. In an instant the whole Austrian column, consisting of 4000 men, were taken prisoners.

Bonaparte having no intelligence of General Augereau, thought his communication with Verona might be intercepted. The Imperialists still had La Corona; Joubert was to attack that place, and he directed the troops which Joubert could spare to proceed towards Verona and Castel Nuovo, and set out for the latter place, where he learned that the Austrian column of 10,000 men, under General Provera, had crossed the Adige under the fire of a numerous artillery at Anguiari, and that General Guieux, who guarded the Adige in that quarter, was obliged to retire to Ronco. Having arrived at Villa Franca, he ordered four demi-brigades to advance from that place; and concluding that Augereau, if not defeated, was following Provera, he proceeded to Roverbella, where he arrived with his reinforcements.

Bonaparte hastened to St. Anthony, and gave orders to attack Provera on the 16th. This General unable to make himself master of St. George by main force, and having no intelligence of Alvinzi's army, could only indulge a hope of engaging the French with advantage, when acting with a powerful sally of the garrison of Mantua. Bonaparte laboured to prevent this, and surround the column of Provera. General Serrurier, with 1500 men, proceeded to La Favorite, whilst General Victor

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General Provera surrenders to the French.

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attacked and turned General Provera's troops, and General Miolis who occupied St. George, made a sally so fortunately, that Provera found himself and his column completely surrounded; on which this gallant General and the remainder of his column surrendered at discretion.

General Alvinzi's army was now quite enfeebled; within four days the Republicans had fought two pitched battles, six inferior actions, and took nearly 25,000 prisoners, with twenty standards, sixty pieces of cannon, with their waggons, and all the baggage of General Provera's column, besides killing or wounding about 6000 men. General Rey was to conduct the prisoners to Grenoble by detachments of 3000 men, one day's march from each other, under the escort of the 58th demi-brigade and a squadron of cavalry. All the troops performed wonders. "The Roman legions," said Bonaparte in his despatches, "are reported to have marched twenty-four miles a-day. Our brigades, though fighting at intervals, march thirty."

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## CHAPTER XLIII.

THE division of General Augereau proceeded to Padua; and advanced to Citadella, from whence the Austrians fled at its approach. General Massena, who had left Vienna to drive the Austrians from Bassano learned on

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The Austrians retreat.

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the 26th, that they had evacuated that place in the night, and proceeded to Carpenedolo and Crespo; he therefore directed General Menard to file along the right bank of the Brenta to Carpenedolo and ordered another party, with two pieces of artillery, to proceed to this village by the left bank of the Brenta; these troops came up with the Imperialists near Carpenedolo, when an action took place on the bridge, but the latter were forced to retreat leaving 200 dead, and 900 prisoners. General Joubert marched after the Austrians, who fled into the Tyrol, where he encountered their rear guard, and, at Avio, after a slight action, took 300 prisoners.

The Imperialists retired to Mori and Torbola, their right covered by the lake, and their left by the Adige. General Murat embarked with 200 men, and landed his troops at Torbola. General Vial, with the light infantry, after a severe march through the snow, turned the position of the Austrians, and obliged 450 men and twelve officers to surrender. General Joubert entered Roveredo, and the Austrians having fortified the pass of Calliano, famous by the victory which the French gained there on their entering the Tyrol, seemed to dispute their entrance into Trent. General Beliard strove to turn the right of the Austrians, while General Vial routed them, and arrived at Trent, where he found 2000 sick and wounded the Austrians had left behind them in their flight; several magazines were also taken at this place. General Massena ordered two demi-brigades to advance, and attack the castle of La Scala, but its defenders fled on the approach of the French, and left a part of their baggage behind them.

The gallant but unfortunate Wurmser had often sallied, but had always been overcome; yet his valour gained

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Mantua surrenders to the French.

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him the admiration of the enemy he fought with; the siege which he sustained is said to have cost the Emperor 22,000, and the French 24,000 men, and at last was abandoned through the pressure of famine and disease. On the 2d of February 1797 a conference was held between Generals Wurmser and Serrurier, to settle the articles of capitulation, when it appeared that the hospitals were crowded with sick, and all the horses were devoured by that part of the garrison who had survived the dreadful conflicts without, and the horrors within the walls. On this occasion Bonaparte shewed the generosity of a soldier towards Marshal Wurmser, a veteran, seventy years of age, who, after losing the greater part of his army, and the country of the Tyrol, conceived the project of taking refuge in Mantua, though distant from it five days march; and who attained this object in spite of the efforts of Bonaparte to prevent him.

The citadel was taken possession of the 3d of February: the Austrians marched out with the honours of war, but became prisoners. General Würmser was exempted with his whole suite, the general officers, the *etat-major*, and whoever else the brave veteran thought proper to nominate. He was allowed 100 cavalry, six pieces of cannon and their waggons, and 500 persons of his own choosing; and the 700 men who accompanied him were not to act in a hostile manner against the French Republic for three months. News of this surrender was heard with the most lively joy at Paris, and the constituted authorities used every means to give eclat to the event.

On the 18th of February the Executive Directory repaired to the hall of public audience, and the standards taken in the late engagements were introduced amidst the shouts of "Vive la Republique!" These were pre-

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Augereau presents the Standards to the Directory.

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ceded by the Minister of War, with the Chief of Squadron, Bassieres, who was entrusted by the General in Chief to present them to the Directory. The minister, after stating in his address, that the army of Italy still presented new monuments of its glory, informed the Directory, that they now saw the trophies of its last successes—the standards of Alvinzi and of the captive Provera. “At this moment,” said he, “30,000 of these Austrians, who had flattered themselves with compelling us to repass the Alps, climb those Alps themselves; but they climb them—vanquished, disarmed, and prisoners!”

On the 28th, whilst musicians performed favourite airs, a discharge of artillery announced the arrival of sixty standards taken at Mantua, and of General Augereau, charged with presenting them to the Directory. He entered amidst, universal acclamations and reiterated cries of “Vive la Republique!” and was preceded by sixty veteran warriors, each with republican pride carrying an Austrian standard. The General was presented to the Directory by the Minister of War, who addressed him in a flattering speech.

There was great impatience to hear the General. Near him stood his father, a veteran whose martial appearance seemed still to breathe ardour of battle; and his brother, who, as aid-de-camp, was the companion of his toils. Near him was a brother of General Bonaparte (Jerome), twelve years of age; every one sought to recognise in this youth traits of the conqueror of Italy. A profound silence prevailed, when General Augereau addressed the Directory. He tells them that the army of Italy charges him with being the organ of its sentiments, and its attachment to the constitution; that it will justify the reputation it had gained; that the preservation of Mantua



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Bonaparte addresses the Army.

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was the great hope of the Austrians in Italy—its numerous garrison, the fame of its general, its ample supplies all fostered this idea—but the army of Italy took possession of it for the Republic; that they have devoted themselves to the constitution, and will endeavour to give the Republic that peace so desirable to every one.

The President of the Directory stated the satisfaction they felt, and the pleasure experienced by all Frenchmen, on seeing within that circle the honourable trophies presented by one of the heroes of Arcola. “ Brave General !” continued he, “ inform your brethren in arms, that their exploits, now crowned by the capture of Mantua, have excited an universal enthusiasm, which has reduced to silence the implacable enemies of their country; carry to them the tribute of our gratitude in the name of the triumphant Republic, that delights to reckon them among her firmest supports.”

General Bonaparte, who knew the value of a compliment in season, would not let this opportunity slip of paying his court to the army, he therefore addressed them in a proclamation; in which he details their exploits—he tells them that they have proved victorious in fourteen pitched battles and seventy engagements—had taken more than 100,000 prisoners, 500 field pieces, and 2000 large cannon; that the countries they took have paid the army, and that they besides had sent home thirty millions. He tells them that the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope and the Duke of Parma, are now leagued with them; that the Emperor alone was opposed to them, and that they are to seek for peace in the states of Austria; and concludes by telling them to remember that they are carrying Liberty to the brave Hungarians.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

AN ardent mind, like that of Bonaparte, could not want opportunities of indulging its ambition. The Papal States could now be invaded without any apprehensions being entertained from a too extensive dispersion of the Republican troops; and an intercepted letter from the Pope's Secretary to the Nuncio at Vienna, gave a pretence for breaking the armistice that had been concluded.

Bonaparte wrote to Cardinal Matthei, saying, that as the court of Rome wished for war, she should have it; that to destroy the temporal power of the Pope he had only to wish it. He tells him to advise his holiness—the French Government allows him to receive proposals of peace, and all may be settled. The Cardinal in answer says, that his Holiness had always sought to maintain peace, and had suffered much from his wishes; that the success of his army in Italy had misled the French Government; that they required of the Pope to sacrifice his conscience, by the destruction of all that was the basis of religion and morality; that the Court of Rome must prepare for war—his army was formidable but not invincible; that they wish also for peace, and will be happy to make one in the great affair of pacification.

On the 5th of January 1797, Bonaparte recalled the French minister from Rome, and wrote the following letter:

## TO CARDINAL MATTHEI

"The influence of foreigners at Rome will be its ruin: the words of peace which I charged you to carry to his holiness, were stifled by men to whom the glory of Rome is nothing. You are witness how much I desired to avoid the horrors of war; but the letter which I send you, and of which I have the original, will convince you of the perfidy, blindness, and obstinacy of the Court of Rome. Whatever may happen, I entreat you to assure his Holiness, that he may remain at Rome without any inquietude; as the first minister of religion, he shall find protection for himself and the Church. My great care shall be to introduce no change in the religion which is established.

BONAPARTE."

General Victor was ordered to Rome, which he began by taking Imola, and then Fuenza, Forli, Cezena, Ravenna, &c. with as little difficulty. The Papal troops attempted to fortify themselves upon the Lenis; but in place of trusting to their own courage, their hopes were grounded on the blessings of St. Peter and St. Paul. Victor was not to be charmed into submission, and he drove them forward, "like chaff before the wind." A general terror spread through the ecclesiastical states; all ranks sought to escape with their property into Naples, and the Pope despatched four plenipotentiaries with a letter to Bonaparte, praying for peace.

This letter, with its answer, will shew, that if our hero knew how to flatter, when it would serve his turn, he himself was not insensible to flattery.

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The Pope writes to Bonaparte.

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POPE PIUS VI. TO GENERAL BONAPARTE.

“DEAR SON, health and apostolic benediction!

“Desiring to terminate amicably our differences with the French Republic, by the retreat of the troops which you command, we send and depute to you, as our Plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the Cardinal Matthei, who is perfectly known to you, and M. Galeppi; and two seculars, the Duke Louis Braschi, our nephew, and the Marquis Camillo Massino, who are invested with our full powers to concert, promise, and subscribe such conditions as we hope will be just and reasonable, obliging ourselves, under our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in a special form, in order that they may be valid and inviolable in all future time. Assured of the sentiments of good-will which you have manifested, we have abstained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be persuaded of the entire confidence which we repose in you. We conclude by assuring you of our most perfect esteem, and presenting you with the paternal apostolic benediction.

“PIUS, P. P. VI.”

Given at St. Peter, in Rome, the 12th February 1797, the 22d year of our Pontificate.

BONAPARTE, General in Chief of the Army of Italy, to his Holiness the Pope.

*Head-Quarters at Tolentino, 1 Ventose, 5th Year.*

“MOST HOLY FATHER!

“I ought to thank your Holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter, which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

"The peace between the French Republic and your Holiness is just signed. I felicitate myself on being able to contribute to your personal safety.

"I entreat your Holiness to guard against the persons now at Rome, who are sold to the courts, the enemies of peace, or who suffer themselves to be guided exclusively by the passion of hatred, which the loss of territory engenders.

"Europe knows the pacific inclinations and the virtue of your Holiness. The French Republic will be one of the truest friends of Rome.

"I send my aid-de-camp, chief of brigade, to express to your Holiness the perfect esteem and veneration which I have for your person, and to entreat you to confide in the desire which I have to give you, on every occasion, the respect and veneration, with which I have the honour to be,

"Your most obedient servant,

"BONAPARTE."

The peace between the Republic and the Pope was ratified by the latter, and confirmed by the French Government: it settled that there should be peace, amity, and good will between the Republic and his Holiness, and that the latter revoked all consent, by writing or promise, given to the coalition against the Republic, and to every treaty of alliance, offensive or defensive, with any power or state whatever. It was agreed that ships of war or corsairs of the powers armed against the Republic should not enter, during the present war, into the ports or roads of the ecclesiastical state. The Republic should enjoy, as before the war, all the prerogatives which France had at Rome. The Pope renounced

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Terms agreed to by the Pope.

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all rights to the territory of Avignon, the Comtat Venaissin and its dependencies, and gave the Republic, all his rights to the territories, known by the names of the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; he engaged to pay to the treasurer of the French army, before the 5th of March, the sum of 15,000,000 of livres Tournois, 10,000,000 in specie, and five in diamonds and other precious articles, out of the sum of about 16,000,000 still remaining due on the 9th article of the armistice, signed at Bologna on the 21st of June last, and to furnish to the army 800 cavalry horses equipped, 800 draft horses, besides oxen, buffaloes, and other produce of the territory of the church. The Pope engaged to pay to the Republic money, diamonds, or other valuables, the sum of 15,000,000 livres Tournois, 10,000,000 in the month of March, and 5,000,000 in that of April following. The article of the treaty of armistice concerning the manuscripts and objects of the arts, was to be completed with all promptitude. The French army was to evacuate the whole of the territory left to the Pope, when the articles relating to the payments should be accomplished. His Holiness agreed to disavow by his minister at Paris the assassination of Basseville, Secretary of Legation, and to pay the sum of 300,000 livres to those who suffered by that deed: he engaged to set at liberty those in confinement for their political opinions. The General in Chief was to suffer his Holiness's troops, who were prisoners of war, to return home; and it was agreed, that sundry articles of minor consideration were to be obligatory for ever on his Holiness and his successors.

Bonaparte appears to have understood the art of interfering where his interference was not asked. The little republic of Santa Marino had given the General no cause.

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**Bonaparte sends an Embassy to San Marino.**

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to quarrel with it, yet it did not escape his notice ; he attacked it by a shower of favours ; and under an idea of removing any uneasiness this free state might suffer from the contiguity of the French army, he sent to offer it his protection. Citizen Monge was introduced to the two Captain Regents of that Republic, and addressed them in a long speech, in which he told them, that he came on the part of General Bonaparte in the name of the French Republic, to assure that of St. Marino of peace and friendship ; that if any part of their frontiers was disputed, or any part of the neighbouring states was necessary to them, he requested ~~they~~ <sup>he</sup> would let him know ; as the French Republic was eager to prove her friendship, and he congratulated himself on being the means which procured him the opportunity of testifying the veneration they inspired in all the friends of liberty.

The republic had preserved its liberty since the 5th century. The population did not exceed 5000 ; but its revenue was equalled by the simplicity of its government, and its power preserved its existence without allies. By virtue and independence they had got over all the intrigues which Cardinal Alberoni had excited against them ; and at the present time no power had the means or the inclination to disturb their tranquillity.

The candidate for a diadem and an empire knew well, that whoever can be made to rely upon another, will be rendered unable to serve himself : in this view it appeared to the Regents ; but the proposition was corrupt, for it was impossible that so diminutive a state could speak its sentiments, surrounded by large armies ; it temporised, and endeavoured, by flattering Napoleon, to prevail upon him to keep his kindness to himself, and let them alone.

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His offered Friendship declined.

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The specious plan however did not answer the General's expectations—they acknowledged the kindness of the Great Nation in thus noticing them, but bid him tell the hero who sent him, that, satisfied with their mediocrity, they were afraid to accept the generous offer he had made of enlarging their territory, which might compromise their liberty : that they felt the magnanimity of the conqueror of Italy, and would ever cherish the gratitude they now experienced.

This incident is far from trifling, as it helps to unfold his character when it was little understood. Spite of the wisdom with which these independent people had refused his offers, on his return from Tolentino, Bonaparte sent their state four pieces of cannon in the name of the French Republic, and directed a supply of corn, which they wished to purchase, to be delivered to them gratuitously.

It is natural to remark, that the General had upwards of 1000 cannon he had no kind of occasion for, and that the state of Santa Marino had existed above a thousand years without feeling the want of them. Not so the other part of the conqueror's generosity. A supply of corn was a substantial good, which they had an occasion for, but their wish was to buy it, and they could afford to pay for it, better than those he pillaged could afford to part with it without money. Bonaparte would, however, be generous; yet the people of Marino ate his "Dainties with reluctance, for they regarded them as deceitful meat."

The General gained much fame from the literary world, by the means that he took to flatter the vanity of learned men; the village of Pietola is the ancient spot of Andes, where Virgil was born, and was formerly part of



the liberalities of Augustus. It had probably suffered equally during the siege of Mantua as in the wars of the Triumvirate; but the conqueror of Italy was no less desirous of fame than Augustus: Virgil was in his recollection; and Bonaparte gave orders, that the ancient patrimony of the Mantuan Bard should be distinguished, and that its inhabitants should be indemnified for all the losses they had sustained by the war.

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CHAPTER XLV.

WHILST Bonaparte was thus advancing his fortune, his family seem to have been equally diligent. His brothers, Joseph and Lucien, availed themselves of his credit, and with little either of talents or property, obtained seats in the legislative body. Louis, his third brother, was appointed a lieutenant-colonel in the army of Italy, and Jerome, though a mere school-boy, was presented to the chief magistrates and people of France. It was perhaps policy that made the General appropriate a part of his immense riches towards raising his mother and sister from the mediocrity of their former station; yet he is at least entitled to the merit of not having neglected a duty in this instance; nor should it be forgotten, that he owes much of his success to the wise and judicious arrangements of Madame Bonaparte, who kept his mind wholly freed from domestic or family disappointments.

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*The Archduke commands the Austrian Army.*

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The war lasted in Italy during the winter. The destruction of Alvinzi's army making it necessary to form another to cover the hereditary states, the court of Vienna gave the command of this new army to the Archduke. His good fortune on the Rhine, and the attachment of the soldiery to his Royal Highness, gave every hope of success : but his laurels faded before the formidable warrior he had to encounter. The weather, and the fatigue the troops had experienced, suspended further operations on the Rhine. Preparations were made for opening the campaign with decisive effect, and were hastened to second the invasion of Germany, which Bonaparte meditated from the northern frontier of Italy. The army of the Sambre and Meuse was entrusted to the command of Gen. Hoche, while Moreau kept that of the army of the Rhine and Moesle. When Hoche assumed his command, he shewed the firmness of his mind by an act of wholesome severity ; he cashiered a great number of officers, and dismissed or arrested about one hundred commissaries, for extortions and dilapidations of various kinds. In Italy the greatest efforts were made to furnish the Archduke with a powerful army ; and hostilities commenced before Bonaparte made peace with the Pope.

From the battle of Rivoli the army of Italy occupied the banks of the Piava and the Lavisio, while the Imperial army, under Prince Charles, held the opposite bank of the Piava, its centre behind the Cordevole, and its right supported by the Adige. On the 10th General Massena proceeded to Feltri, and the Austrians evacuated Cordevole, and marched to Bellurn. General Serurier's division on the 12th crossed the Piava, opposite the village of Vidor, and having routed an Austrian corps that opposed its passage, advanced rapidly to St.

Salvador; but the Austrians having intelligence of that passage of the river, evacuated their camp of La Campana. General Massena's division having reached Bellum, pursued the Imperialists towards Cadore, and surrounding their rear-guard, took 700 prisoners, among whom was General Lusignan, who having disgraced himself by his conduct towards the French sick at Brescia, Bonaparte sent him to France, without the liberty of being exchanged,

The Directory had seconded every measure to render certain the success of Bonaparte, and procure a glorious peace to the Republic. Whole divisions were drawn from the armies on the Rhine, for Italy; from the banks of this river they crossed part of the republic, and surmounted the barrier of the Alps, till then thought impervious, but of which General Kellerman, by struggling against climate, the elements, and the seasons, had succeeded in maintaining the free passage. This march, the most difficult ever effected on the continent by an armed corps, during the winter season, without meeting any delay, and without being suspected, enabled them to contend in Carinthia with the men they had so often defeated on the other side of the Rhine. These reinforcements having joined the army of Italy, Bonaparte crossed the Trajamento, and shewed his troops from the top of the Noric Alps, (a barrier which no modern nation had hitherto passed), the basins of the Adriatic and of the Danube, in which last Vienna seemed to point out to them the object of their exploits. Scarcely had the campaign commenced, and scarcely in climates more favourable would they have thought of opening it, when Bonaparte already threatened the states of Austria. Nature was yet dormant in these black regions, when the moun-

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The French take Gradisca.

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tains of the Tyrol and Carinthia were scaled. Prince Charles made a precipitate retreat, very different from that of General Moreau, who led back his army, pursued, but victorious, from the banks of the Danube to the borders of the Rhine.

General Serrurier advanced to Gradisca, filing along the heights that command the town. To prevent the Imperialists from finding out this manoeuvre, General Bernadotte made the riflemen attack their entrenchments; but the French soldiers advanced to the walls of Gradisca, where they were received by a very heavy discharge of musketry and grape-shot. General Serrurier having gained the heights which commanded Gradisca, cut off every means of retreat to the garrison, who were also convinced of the inutility of defence. General Bernadotte summoned the Austrian commandant to surrender in ten minutes. He observed, that the Governor had defended the town like a brave man, and gained the esteem of all military men by his conduct; and concluded by informing him, that the grenadiers and chasseurs demanded loudly the assault. The Governor agreed to a capitulation, by which it was settled, that in a quarter of an hour after signing it the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, the officers keeping their swords, and to return home, on condition of not serving until exchanged. Three thousand prisoners, the flower of the army of Prince Charles, ten pieces of cannon, and eight standards, were the fruits of this operation.

The taking of Gradisca had advantages of which the French General hastened to profit, and he issued a proclamation to the people of the province of Goritz, to prepare them for the expedition designed across their territory.

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The French still victorious.

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On the 21st of march. the French entered Goritz, the Austrian army having retreated with such haste that they abandoned 1500 sick, and all their magazines, which were taken possession of by the French. In these magazines were 680 casks of flour, each weighing three quintals, making in all 2040 quintals, besides what was furnished to the division of Bernadotte.

General Guieux fell in with the Imperialists entrenched at Pufero, took two pieces of cannon and 100 prisoners, pursuing the rest into the defiles of Caporetto, as far as the Austrian La Chinse, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead. General Massena approached Tarvis with his division; Bonaparte therefore hoped that the 2000 men whom General Guieux had pushed before him, would fall into the hands of Massena. The General of division, Dugua, entered Trieste on the night of the 23d. The French likewise got hold of the celebrated mines of Ydria, where they found much substance, and carried it off in waggons.

General Massena on arriving at Tarvis, was attacked by an Austrian division from Clagenfurth, which had come to assist the division that was surrounded; but after a hard conflict he put them to the rout, taking a vast number of prisoners, among whom were three Generals: the Emperor's cuirassiers, arrived from the Rhine, suffered severely. Meanwhile General Guieux drove the column he had defeated, at Pufero as far as Austrian La Chinse, a post well entrenched, but which was carried by assault. General Kables, in person, defended La Chinse with 500 grenadiers. By the laws of war these 500 men might have been put to the sword, but this barbarous right has always been disclaimed by the French army. The hostile column, on finding La Chinse taken, fell into the middle

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More Standards sent to Paris.

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of the division of General Massena, who made the whole of them prisoners. Thirty pieces of cannon, 400 wag-gons, 5000 men, and four generals, fell into the hands of the French.

The division of Massena now occupied the defiles of the Noric Alps. The Imperialists had been so imprudent as to entangle in the Noric Alps all their baggage, and part of their army, which were of course taken. The battle at Tarvis was fought on a height which commands a view of Germany and Dalmatia. In many places to which the French line extended, the snow was three feet deep ; and the cavalry charging on the ice, suffered many accidents.

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## CHAPTER XLVI.

THE Directory wrote letters of thanks to each of the Generals, and pointed out the service his division had rendered to its country ; the army answered these eulogies by meriting new ones. General Bonaparte sent to Paris twenty-four standards, twelve of which were taken from the troops of the Emperor in the late actions, and twelve from the forces of the Pope ; and the Adjutant-General Kellerman, who was wounded in a charge of cavalry, at the passage of the Tagliamento, was appoint-

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The Tyrol submits to the French.

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ed to carry them. General Serrurier soon followed him with twenty-one Austrian and Venetian standards.

The French column sent by Bonaparte to force the submission of the Tyrol, and afterwards join him on the Drave, fulfilled their mission, and passed as conquerors a country which Austria regarded as one of the strongest bulwarks of her empire. The divisions of Generals Joubert, Baraguey d'Hilliers, and Delmas surrounded an Austrian corps stationed on the Lavis. After an obstinate engagement the French took 4000 prisoners, three pieces of cannon, and two standards, and killed nearly 2000 men, most of whom were Tyrolean chasseurs.

The enemy had manifested a disposition to maintain themselves on the Adige. General Joubert, with the division under his command, proceeded to Salurn. General Vial passed the river to prevent the enemy from retreating to Botzen. The firing began with great warmth, and General Dumas, who commanded the cavalry, pushed into the village of Tramin, taking 600 prisoners and two pieces of cannon. The wrecks of the Austrian column, under General Laudon, were unable to reach Botzen, and obliged to wander in the mountains: Joubert entered Botzen, and having detached a force to follow General Laudon, marched directly to Claufen. The Imperialists availing themselves of the country made the best dispositions; the attack was warm and well concerted, and the issue long uncertain. The light infantry clambered up almost inaccessible rocks; the centre of the Imperialists was penetrated, and obliged to give way, when the rout became general. In this action the French took 1500 prisoners. General Joubert arrived at Brixen, in pursuit of the Austrians, while General Dumas killed several of their dragoons with his own hand, and received

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General Clarke goes to Vienna and offers Peace.

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two slight cuts of a sabre, his aid-de-camp being at the same time dangerously wounded. At different places the French found magazines of every kind, and 30,000 quintals of flour. Through the whole of the Tyrol, Carinthia, and Carniola, the Imperialists left behind them their hospitals.

Bonaparte published a proclamation to the inhabitants of Carinthia, stating that the French army did not enter their country to conquer it, or to make any change in their religion, manners, or customs; they were the friends of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany. The Directory sent General Clarke to Vienna, as plenipotentiary, to negotiate for peace; but the Imperial Court had declared it did not acknowledge the French Republic. General Clarke asked for a passport to go to the Emperor himself; but his ministers dreaded that the moderation of the proposals which the General was charged to make, would induce his majesty to conclude a peace. He invited them not to join in a contest against their sentiments, and to furnish such provisions as the French army might require; declaring, that he would protect their religion, customs, and property, and not exact any contribution. The imposts the inhabitants had paid the Emperor, would indemnify them for the losses attending the march of the French army, and for whatever they might furnish.

During this campaign Prince Charles lost nearly 20,000 men taken prisoners, and was now driven from the Venetian territories; from the Higher and Lower Carniola, Carinthia, the district of Trieste, and the whole of the Tyrolese. Near Villach the French found a magazine of cast iron, cartridges, and powder, and mines of lead,



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Bonaparte writes to the Archduke.

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steel, iron, and copper ; and near Clagenfurth they found manufactories of arms and cloth.

On the 1st of April the division of General Massena, forming an advanced guard, encountered the Imperialists in the defiles between Freisach and Neumark ; their rear-guard was pursued by the French so rapidly, that the Archduke was compelled to bring back from his line of battle eight battalions of grenadiers, those who had taken Kehl, and who were now the hope of the Austrian army. The combat, which was between the flower of the Austrian army and the veteran troops of the army of Italy, was one of the most furious that had happened during the war. The Imperialists had a grand position, crowded with cannon ; but it protracted for a short time the defeat of their rear-guard ; their grenadiers were totally routed, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead, and from five to six hundred prisoners. The Austrians defiled during the night, and the French entered Neumark, their head quarters being advanced the same day to Freisach. Here they found 4000 quintals of flour, and a quantity of brandy and oats ; they found also about the same quantity of stores at Neumark.

Credit is due to the French General, that being, as he was, on the point of arriving under the walls of Vienna, where a probable success might have given him the power of overturning for ever the throne of the house of Austria, he should have offered peace. From his headquarters at Clagenfurth, Bonaparte wrote to Prince Charles. He tells him that hostilities had lasted for six years, and that all the continent but Austria had made peace ; that the Executive Directory expressed its wish to his Imperial Majesty to end the contest, but that these

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*The Archduke's Answer.*

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overtures were defeated by the British—he urges him to peace, and says he should be prouder of the civic crown due from his overture, than of all the glory likely to result from the most brilliant military exploits.

The Archduke replied, that though he made war, yet he wished for peace; that in the state in which he was placed it did not rest with him to terminate the quarrel of the contending powers, but that he must wait for superior orders on so weighty a concern; and that, whatever may be the result, he begs the General to accept of his esteem and consideration.

While the French troops were on their march to Freisach, the Archduke, by an aid-de-camp, requested a suspension of arms for four hours; this was inadmissible; as in four hours he would have joined General Spork, to prevent which Bonaparte had hastened his march both night and day.

In Vienna the most violent orders followed each other, with a rapidity tending to increase the alarm. Many withdrew themselves from the horrors of a siege and left the town; and though a number appeared ready to rally round the monarch, and unite to defend the country, he could not be much encouraged by an attachment, which had cost so dear to the noble volunteers of Vienna, who had faced the army of Italy to meet with death or surrender prisoners. In vain was Prince Charles at the head of the Imperial armies; he had been still more unfortunate than his predecessors, and every thing expected from his talents had deceived their ultimate hopes.

Bonaparte changed his head-quarters to Judenburg, and prepared for decisive measures; but Lieutenant-General the Count de Bellegarde, and Major-General Morveldt wrote to him, and stated, that his Imperial

Majesty wished to concur in terminating a war that desolated the two nations. From the overture made by the French General to Prince Charles, the Emperor had deputed them to know the General's proposals on a matter of such importance. Persuaded of the desire and intentions of the two powers to end this disastrous war, his Royal Highness desired a suspension of arms for ten days to facilitate the attainment of so desirable an object.

Bonaparte replied to this application, that, viewing the position of the two armies, a suspension of arms was disadvantageous to the French ; but if it opened a road to peace, so beneficial to the two nations, he would consent without hesitation to their request. The French Republic had often evinced to his Majesty her wish to put an end to this contest ; she was still the same, and he did not doubt, from the conference he had with them, that peace would be at length re-established between the Republic and his Majesty.

The condition of the armistice entered into by the French General and the Archduke on the 7th, provided, that there should be a suspension of arms between the French and Imperial armies, calculating from the evening of the 7th to that of the 13th. By the second article the French were to retain the following line :—The advanced posts of the right wing to keep possession of the position they then occupied between Fiume and Trieste, and this line to be extended as far as Rastadt and Lienz. It was also stipulated that the suspension of arms should extend to the Tyrol ; and that the Generals commanding the troops in that quarter should regulate together the posts they were severally to occupy. Hostilities were not to take place in the Tyrol until twenty-four hours after the General in Chief should have resolved on it, and

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Fresh Engagements take place.

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in any case not until twenty-four hours after the generals commanding the French and Imperial troops in the Tyrol should be informed of the circumstance.

Previous to the conclusion of this armistice the campaign on the Rhine had been commenced, General Hoche informing General Werneck, that the armistice between the advanced posts was to cease on the 16th; a similar notice was given by General Moreau to the Austrian commander on the Upper Rhine. General Kray, who commanded the left wing of the Austrian army, on the idea that a convention was agreed on in Carinthia, requested permission to send an officer with powers to conclude an armistice. Hoche demanded the evacuation of the Lahn, and the cession of Ehrenbreitstein; but the Imperial General thinking that the situation of the two armies did not authorise this, the conference was terminated.

The Austrian left occupied a position in front of the bridge of Neuwied, having its right supported by the village of Hotterdorf, and its left resting on Bendorf. The strength of the entrenchments presented a very formidable aspect, and did honour to the veteran abilities of General Kray. The Imperialists began the action with a lively cannonade, but the French infantry carried the village and the line of redoubts with fixed bayonets. The cavalry now decided the battle, and the Imperialists, thrown into disorder, were forced to retreat, leaving all the cannon of their batteries, several field-pieces and ammunition waggons, besides the principal part of their baggage, three or four standards, and 4000 prisoners.

The Austrians had drawn a reinforcement of twenty or thirty thousand men from the Rhine, and sent them to

Italy. This weakened the Swabian line, and assisted General Moreau, who effected the passage of the river by a coup de main. In the night of the 19th a body of troops crossed to the right bank in boats, succeeded in re-establishing the bridges, by which the rest of the army passed the river, and commenced offensive operations. Several engagements took place during the day, but the Imperialists were defeated, and pursued to Offenburg; and in the evening the Republican flag waved on the bastions of that Kehl, which a French garrison, the year before, defended against the Austrian army. The Austrians lost almost every thing. Five French Generals were wounded; and, from the resistance made by the Imperialists, the loss of the Republican army was very considerable.

Happy for the countries threatened with being the theatre of war, the suspension of arms between Austria and France saved them from the like calamities they sustained the last campaign, and promised to restore the repose of the continent. Bonaparte sent a courier with the news, who reached General Moreau's head-quarters in the night, and hastened along the French line to the head-quarters of General Hoche. A line of demarkation was agreed on, and a friendly intercourse established between the two nations.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

IF the efforts of France were crowned with success upon the continent, nothing ever equalled the misfortunes that befel her exertions on the ocean ; and, even in port, the ships of that nation were not always safe ; for such was the ardour of the English sailors, that they often attacked and cut out vessels from under the batteries. On one occasion only did the French gain a partial triumph in a similar attempt ; the coast of Devonshire was on the 22d of February thrown into alarm by the appearance of three frigates, which entered the small harbour of Ilfracombe, scuttled some merchant ships, and attempted to destroy some other vessels. From this they soon departed, standing across the channel towards Pembroke. They were found to consist of two frigates and two smaller vessels, steering from the British channel to turn St. David's head ; from whence they steered towards Fishguard, and came to an anchor in a small bay, where they hoisted French colours and put out their boats.

Near Fishguard they effected a debarkation on the morning of the 23d, when numbers of them traversed the country in search of provisions, plundering the houses they found abandoned, but offered little molestation to the inhabitants, who remained in their dwellings. This handful of invaders surrendered, however, to Lord Cawdor, at the head of about 660 men, consisting of volunteers, fencibles, and yeomen cavalry, reinforced by a

multitude of colliers, who augmented his numbers, without increasing his strength.

When the frigates had completed the debarkation, they sailed for the coast of France, but were captured on the 9th of the ensuing month by the *St. Florenzo* and *Nymphé* frigates. They proved to be *la Resistance*, of 48 guns, and *la Constance*, of 24. The men landed were thought by some to be insurgents from *La Vendée*, whose principles made it dangerous to place confidence in them. Others supposed them to be gally-slaves, and criminals collected from the prisons of Brest, and landed by way of insult, as if the French government meant to billet them on the enemy. This last received countenance from the debates in the French councils, who censured the minister of marine, and charged him with planning this measure; yet it is not entitled to believe, when we listen to the officer commanding the expedition, who declared he had with him 600 of the best troops in France, veteran and experienced soldiers.

On the 14th of February a memorable action took place off Cape St. Vincent, between a squadron of British ships of war, under the command of Admiral Sir John Jervis, and a Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Joseph de Cordova. The difference between the fleets was very great, the British being no more than fifteen sail of the line, four frigates, a sloop of war, and a cutter; whilst the Spanish fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, and twelve frigates, the enemy's force being more than twice the metal of the British Admiral. The Spanish fleet was perceived by the *Minerva* frigate, on the night of the 11th, carrying the pendant of Commodore Nelson, on his way to join Admiral Jervis, and

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Defeat of the Spanish Fleet by Sir John Jervis.

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on the 13th they were so near the British fleet that their signal guns were distinctly heard.

The fleet under Sir John Jervis received signals to be ready for battle, and next morning they were in perfect order. A little past six the Culloden gave notice of five sail of the enemy lying to the south-west; the fleet was therefore directed to form in close order, and soon after a signal was made to prepare for an engagement. The British Admiral made a signal to break the enemy's line, and succeeded in passing through it. Commodore Nelson, in the Captain, of 74, engaged the Santissima Trinidad, supposed to be the largest ship in the world, though he was at the same time attacked by two other three-deckers; he was, however, soon assisted. The Spanish fleet retreated in much confusion; four of their vessels were taken, the Salvador del Mundo and San Josef, of 112 guns each, the San Nicholas, of 84, and San Isidro, of 74. The British loss is stated at 300 men killed and wounded; while the four captured ships lost 693.

Sir John Jervis displayed great skill and invincible courage during this action, for he had to engage a fleet nearly twice as numerous as his own, and with more than twice his metal. The enemy discovered no wish to renew the contest, but went into port, and were blocked up by their gallant conqueror. The British ministry had not the news of this victory long before Sir John Jervis was created a British peer, under the title of Earl St. Vincent.

This victory encouraged the British Admiral to fit out an expedition against Tenerife, to be commanded by the intrepid Nelson, now a rear-admiral. The squadron easily got possession of Santa Cruz, but the Spaniards



came down in such numbers, that the British were obliged to betake to their ships in the best manner they could. Admiral Nelson lost his right arm by a cannon ball, and Captain Bowen, with his first lieutenant, and the whole of the boat's crew, went to the bottom, a shell falling into the boat while they were rowing to the shore. The loss of the British amounted to near 300 killed and wounded, a carnage little inferior to the memorable 14th of February.

Sir J. B. Warren discovered a French frigate in Hodiernne Bay, with fourteen transports, laden with stores for the navy of France. The British Commodore captured eight, destroyed two, and drove on shore the convoy frigate, called the *Calliope*. A corvette was driven on shore on the 11th, and a gun-boat was sunk at the entrance into the bay of Sables d'Olonne, by the same naval officer; and on the 27th he took five more prizes, near the mouth of the Garonne, richly laden with military and naval stores for the ships of war and privateers in the neighbouring harbours.

This year was memorable for the reduction of Trinidad, taken by the British troops under that lamented officer Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who went out with a squadron commanded by Rear-Admiral Harvey. The forces for this expedition were embarked at Fort Royal, Martinique. Four days after the British came in sight of Trinidad, standing towards the Gulph of Paria. The Spanish squadron was seen at anchor in Shagrabus Bay, consisting of four sail of the line and one frigate. Next morning the squadron of the enemy was discovered on fire, and all of them except one were consumed to ashes. This fortunate change enabled the General to turn his whole attention to the attack of the town, which he be-

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**Attack on Porto Rico—Mutiny in the Navy.**

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came master of with little or no opposition. A capitulation was next entered on by the Governor, and the whole island surrendered to the King of Great Britain.

An attempt made upon Porto-Rico, was not accompanied with equal success. Admiral Harvey's fleet reached Porto-Rico, and anchored at Congrejos Point. The troops under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie were landed next morning, and met with little opposition from about 100 men ; but the town was strongly fortified, and the reduction of it appeared hopeless. After it was bombarded for some days without success, the General embarked his troops, having lost about 200 men. On arriving at Barbadoes, General Abercrombie told the Council, he was desired to raise some regiments of negroes, to be purchased from the different islands belonging to Great Britain. This was warmly opposed, from the idea that it was dangerous to arm the negroes.

When the British navy was thus gloriously defending the empire, the sailors made a hostile demand upon their own Government, for enough of comfort and pay to enable them to perform their duties. Earl Howe received letters in the month of February, from the crews of different ships, praying his Lordship to use his influence with Government to grant them redress : but he considered complaints coming from such persons wholly beneath his notice. This was not forgotten by the sailors, on their return to port on the 31st of March, when their correspondence was diffused through the fleet, and a resolution adopted, that they would never put to sea till they had accomplished their object. Matters continued thus till the 14th of April, when Lord Bridport was ordered to sail with the Channel fleet.

On Lord Bridport making the signal to put to sea, he

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*Alarming Aspect of the Mutiny at Portsmouth.*

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found his authority despised, and the ships manning their yards and giving loud cheers, left him no room to doubt—the best order was maintained, and they drew up petitions which they presented to the Admirals present, stating the extent of their demands as to wages and provisions—and they trusted their request would be taken into consideration before they were ordered to sea again, unless the enemy were known to be at sea.

Lord Spencer arrived at Portsmouth in order to break their combination—the delegates from the ships met on board the *Queen Charlotte*, and after some preliminary matters Lord Bridport told them he had procured a full pardon for all implicated, and they all returned to their duty—but Mr. Pitt, when he moved an increase of pay, omitting to specify in Parliament his reason for such an application, this was considered by the seamen as a proof he did not mean to comply, and when the signal was made to put to sea the whole fleet evinced their former disobedience.

Admiral Colpeys resolved to hinder the delegates from coming on board the *London*, and ordered the marines to fire; but the crew of that ship pointed their guns aft on the officers, and they were obliged reluctantly to surrender.

The mutiny, still confined to Portsmouth, assumed a most alarming aspect; and Lord Howe came with full powers to settle the disputes between Government and the sailors. He had with him an act of parliament, passed on the 9th, granting an additional allowance, and the pardon of his Majesty to all such as should immediately return to their duty and allegiance. The happiest effects were evident; the delegates went to the Governor's house at Portsmouth, and afterwards in procession to the fleet,

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and at the Nore — Parker executed.

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accompanied by Lord Howe and his Lady, and a number of persons of distinction. The mutinous flag was struck, and the fleet made ready for putting to sea.

No sooner had the spirit of mutiny ceased at Portsmouth, than the pleasure was turned into consternation by a fresh mutiny in another quarter. The fleet in the North Sea and the ships at the Nore, insisted on the redress of other grievances. They appointed Richard Parker their president, and confined or sent ashore their principal officers. Many of their demands were looked on as totally inadmissible, and Government insisted on submission. A deputation from the Lords of the Admiralty went to Sheerness, and demanded unqualified submission; this was answered by insolence and rebellion. Desertion to the enemy was proposed, which was strongly rejected by Parker and others. The greatest loyalty was shewn on the 4th of June in celebrating his Majesty's birth-day. Some of the ships under the command of Admiral Duncan joined the mutineers at the Nore; they then amounted to twenty-four sail; the officers in many cases were allowed to mix with the men, and at last prevailed on the greater body of them to desert their delegates. Proclamation was issued in the King's name, threatening those who continued in the mutiny with vengeance; and they withdrew by degrees, till at last Parker was seized, delivered up, and sent to Maidstone to take his trial. He was condemned to die, and executed on-board the Sandwich; he bore his fate with great magnanimity.

The Dutch patriots had paid the French a large sum to assist them in driving the Prince of Orange out, and now they offered double that sum if they would take themselves off! But Monsieur was too well lodged to change

his quarters; yet he had no objection to the civilities tendered to him, to afford the Batavian chiefs an opportunity of shewing their good-nature. Bodies of troops were marched into Holland, half starved and half naked, and when they were fed and clothed, were sent off, to make way for a fresh devouring race. The balance of accounts was every where struck between the old government and the new; and every person found, in a comparison of comforts and advantages, that he had lost fifty per cent by the change.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

BONAPARTE kept the revolutionary spirit alive in the south, but his were revolutions of power, not of principles. He had complained of the Venetian government favouring the Austrians, and acting treacherously towards his troops; which a few may allow to be true, but others may indulge some doubts, when they see the General take upon himself at once the character *le Juge et le Bourreau*. "What!" said the General, in a letter to the Doge, "did you think I would tamely suffer the massacres excited by the Venetian Government? The blood of our brethren in arms," continued, he "shall be avenged.; and there is not a French battalion, charged with this mission, which does not feel three times the courage.

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Manifesto published against Venice.

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and strength necessary to punish you—the Republic of Venice has returned the blackest perfidy for the generous treatment she has received from France.” He informed his Serenity, that if he did not instantly adopt measures to arrest and deliver up, within twenty-four hours, the persons who, it was said, had assassinated some French soldiers, war was declared.

The Senate published a proclamation relative to these complaints ; their conduct, they said, had always been, and still was, so perfectly friendly towards the belligerent powers, and they did not think it necessary to pay any attention to the evil-disposed persons, who questioned their sincerity : but as these enemies of the republic had spread the vilest slanders against the sincerity of the Venetian Government, the Senate declared that their friendship with France was not in the least altered ; the Senate, therefore, had no doubt but the French nation would repose that confidence in the republic of Venice which it had merited by its irreproachable conduct.

On the 3d of May the General issued a manifesto, stating, that while the French were far advanced from Italy, and the principal establishments of the army, the Venetian Government had armed 40,000 peasants, who, with ten regiments of Slavonians, were organized into battalions, and sent to intercept all communication between the army and Lombardy. Military stores were sent from Venice to complete the organization of these corps : his countrymen were grossly insulted and driven from that city, and offices given to those who had presided at the massacre of Frenchmen. The people of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, were ordered to take up arms, to second the regular troops, and at last to commence the new Sicilian vespers ; while the Venetian officers asserted

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Venice submits to France.

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that it belonged to the Lion of St. Mark to verify the Proverb, that "Italy is the grave of the French." The priests preached a crusade; and the priests in the state of Venice utter only the will of government. The General then gives a detail of the assassinations committed in the towns and in the country. In this mournful list, is the massacre of the sick in the hospitals at Verona, where 400 Frenchmen, he said, were thrown into the Adige. He required the French minister to leave Venice, and directed the generals of division to treat as enemies the troops of the Venetian Government, and trample in the dust the Lion of St. Mark.

The battalions, to inflict a signal vengeance on Venice, began their march, and in a few days the whole Terra Firma lay at the feet of the conqueror. The Veronese were punished with the greatest severity; several thousands of armed peasantry, who contested the progress of the French divisions, were cut in pieces, or dispersed. A body of Slavonians, who had joined them, retired to a large building or fort, where was deposited all their powder waggons and ammunition. This was soon blown into the air, and 500 Slavonians literally annihilated! The French detachment reached Verona, which immediately surrendered.

The Venetian Government was now humble and abject: it was resolved that the government should suspend all its functions, and that the republic should accept a provisional government from France. It was also decreed, that the magistrates of whom the French complained should be delivered up to be punished. A body of French troops took possession of the city, when a municipality was modelled, and every thing formed on the democratic regime. The liberty of the press (i. e.) a right

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Genoa formed into the Ligurian Republic.

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to praise Bonaparte and this government) was established, the Catholic religion was unaltered, and persons and property unmolested ; but the ships of war, and the stores in the arsenal, were taken possession of in the name of the French Republic.

Genoa was attacked upon much the same grounds : that country, considering its vicinity to France, and the presence of the Republican army, could not escape that spirit of innovation which had electrified the rest of Europe. The French government pretended that it did not punish the Genoese nobility for the aid they afforded the Imperial army when in their neighbourhood, and their attention to the partisans of Austria. The people of Genoa had imbibed the principles of democratical liberty, and tumults had arisen between them and the adherents of the old government. This silly government unable to stem the torrent, sent deputies to Bonaparte at Montebello, where a convention was concluded on the 6th of June.

The government of the Genoese Republic acknowledged the sovereignty to reside in the body of the citizens of its territory. The legislative power was entrusted to two representative councils, and the executive delegated to a senate of ten members, to be nominated by the councils. Municipalities were established in the communes and districts, on the model of France, and a committee was charged with framing a constitution, and all the laws of the republic, with the reserve of doing nothing contrary to the Catholic religion. The provisional government was to extinguish faction, grant general amnesty, and unite the people in rallying round the public liberty. France agreed to give her protection, and even the assistance of its armies, to the Genoese republic, to facilitate,



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Lord Malmesbury arrives at Lisle.

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if necessary, the execution of these articles, and maintain the integrity of the territory of the republic. This new modelled affair was baptised "Ligurian Republic."

The negotiations did not proceed with the activity characterising Bonaparte's measures ; but he was busily employed in consolidating the new republics which his victories had founded in Italy. The Bolognese, Ferrarese, Modenese, and Romagna, were incorporated with Lombardy, and the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics completely organized.

Peace now seemed necessary, and fresh overtures were made to the French Government.

Lord Malmesbury was again appointed plenipotentiary for Great Britain, and arrived at Lisle in the beginning of July. He exchanged his powers, and had his first conference on the 8th of that month, when he delivered in what his court conceived to be the basis of negotiation—the leading points of which were, that the state of the two countries before the war should be adopted as a proper basis, every conquest to be restored not excepted by the present treaty ; and every conquest made by the British given up, except the islands of Trinidad, Ceylon, and the Cape of Good Hope. It was expected that the effects of the Stadtholder should be restored, or something given as a compensation for the loss of his hereditary dignities. No objection could be made to the project of the English Government ; it was perfectly liberal, and bore every mark of moderation and frankness ; but the majority of the French Directory were little-minded men, who were used to such a habit of quibbling, that they could not discern the point where their true interests lay.

The title of King of France, which the Kings of Eng-

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Discussions of the Plenipotentiaries.

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land had borne ever since Henry the VIth was crowned at Rheims, they strongly objected to, and declared that the English could never be looked on as acknowledging the Republic till it was abolished. They required compensation for the ships taken or destroyed in the port of Toulon, which was founded on a pretence, that they could only be kept by Britain as a deposit till the Republic was acknowledged ; and this being done, they were to restore them, or grant an indemnification. It was required of the British Ambassador to declare, whether his Government had any mortgage upon the Low Countries, for the monies advanced to the Emperor, as the French Government would fulfil no such condition. Lord Malmesbury replied, " That he was sure peace on such terms would not be accomplished." He used every argument to convince them of the error of introducing such topics so prematurely ; for, as the Directory had given no opinion of the leading principles of his object, it would be wrong to throw obstacles in the way of the negociation, by such trifling difficulties. As individuals, the ministers might feel his Lordship's reasoning, but their instructions were so positive and precise, that they were forced to insist upon those points ; they, therefore sent for further instructions, which occasioned a great delay. Lord Malmesbury, on the 12th of August, was informed by one of the Republican envoys, that the delay arose from the necessity of consulting with the Allies of the Republic, and that they would receive their final instructions in the course of a few days. On the 28th his Lordship was informed, that the answer returned by Holland was so unsatisfactory, that it was sent to the Dutch Ministers at Paris, who could not alter it to the wishes of the Direc-

tory without applying to their own government for fresh instructions.

Important as the negotiation would have been at any other time, the attention of all classes of people was so entirely engrossed in the contemplation of a violent conflict that was evidently about to take place between the legislative and executive bodies at Paris, that scarcely any interest was taken in its progress, and few persons expected any advantages from its conclusion. The concussion now rapidly about to take place could not fail to paralyze the resolutions of the Directory; and the possibility of their overthrow left them undecided as to the ground upon which they should treat; nor could the British Cabinet be more desirous of hastening the conclusion of a treaty, which might be disavowed by a new government in the course of a week.

The public attention was now directed to Paris more anxiously than ever, and particularly so, as the world in general was wholly ignorant of the matters in dispute between the different branches of the Government. Whatever were the real and absolute designs of the contending parties, it is possible that they lie buried in the breasts of some few persons, who have not yet disclosed them to the public; but as far as a close attention to passing events, and an impartial observation of the conduct and manners of the different persons concerned, will lead to a just decision, they were only such as a moderate share of prudence and good humour would have rendered subservient to the cause of liberty.

The spirit of moderation enabled a number of moderate men to obtain seats in the councils: those were anxious to repair the evils which the violence of the revolution

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Several Members arrested and sent to Cayenne.

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had occasioned. The re-establishment of the Catholic religion, and the recal of the Emigrants, were objects they were resolved to effect, but the Directory looked on those measures as incompatible with the duration of the Republic, and the existence of their own power. It was reported that a conspiracy was formed to establish royalty, and each of the parties made the same charge on its antagonist. The legislators avowed, that if the wish of the people was to have royalty established, it ought to be restored ; and the Directory maintained that an attempt to take the public opinion upon such a question deserved the punishment due to treason. The representatives of the people maintained, that if they could not discuss every subject with equal freedom, the name of liberty was a mere mockery ; and that a government which suppressed free discussion, whether they called themselves Republicans or Royalists, were in fact tyrants ! The representatives charged the Directory with wishing to establish the sovereign power in their own hands, and the Directory charged the representatives with a design to betray their constituents, by restoring Louis the XVIIIth to the throne. The executive power showed a determination to overawe the councils by an armed force, and the legislators resolved that their deliberations should be free and unmolested. The principles of the representatives were justified both by reason and the laws ; but the Directory collected a large armed force round Paris, contrary to the prohibition of the constitution, and surrounded the Legislative body, and picked out every representative who differed from them in opinion. General Augereau, who was to execute this despotic measure, conducted Pichegru, the president of the Council of Five Hundred, and all the other obnoxious representatives, to the Temple,

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Lord Malmesbury ordered to leave Lisle.

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from whence they were transported, without even the form of any process in the shape of a public accusation. Amongst those ordered for transportation were two of the Five Directors. Carnot made his escape, but the other Director (Barthelemy) with Pichegru, Willot, and sixty others, were sent off as exiles to Cayenne.

The temper of the Directory with regard to the negotiation, was not long concealed after their triumph; their ambassadors, who had acceded to the principle of the treaty as laid down by the British Government, were recalled from Lisle, and two others substituted in their place. These new ambassadors informed Lord Malmesbury, that their powers were very extensive, and hoped the business would be terminated in a short time, if his powers were as ample. On the 15th he was asked whether he was possessed of powers which might enable him to agree on the restitution of every possession taken from France or her Allies, and on being answered in the negative, the French minister read a decree of the Directory, by which he was ordered to depart in twenty-four hours, and fetch the necessary qualifications. Thus was the nation a second time insulted in the person of its ambassador, by a government, whose captured possessions the English Government could have sold for a sum equal to its own national debt.

As the Irish were making great efforts to procure auxiliaries from France, and the Batavian Republic had been making preparations for some naval expedition, the fleet under Admiral Duncan had blockaded the Texel the greater part of the summer. The English Admiral having left his station and proceeded to Yarmouth Roads, Admiral de Winter, with the Dutch fleet, put to sea. Captain Trollope, in the Russel, of 74 guns, with a small

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*Sea Fight off the Coast of Holland.*

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squadron, was left to watch the enemy; and on the 9th of October, a signal was made to Admiral Duncan off Yarmouth Roads, that the enemy's fleet was at sea. The British fleet got under sail with astonishing rapidity. Captain Trollope's small squadron was perceived on the morning of the 11th with signals flying, to intimate that an enemy's fleet was to leeward. The fleet under the command of Admiral de Winter, consisted of four ships of 74 guns, five of 68, two of 64, four of 56, and two of 44 guns. Admiral Duncan gave the signal for engaging, and was obeyed with the utmost alacrity, Vice-Admiral Onslow, in the *Monarch*, bearing down upon the rear of the enemy. Before one o'clock the battle commenced, when the British fleet broke the line of the enemy, and made it impracticable for them to reach the Texel, the land being about seven miles distant. Although all the masts of De Winter's ships went by the board, he only struck his colours when overpowered by numbers: it is said that not an officer was left upon the quarter-deck of the Dutch flag-ship, but the Admiral himself, the whole of them being either killed or wounded. The Vice-Admiral's ship lost all her masts about the same time, and accordingly struck to Admiral Onslow's division. Before three o'clock more of the enemy's fleet surrendered; but as Admiral Duncan found himself no more than five miles off the land, he was wholly employed in getting the disabled ships off the shore, and could not ascertain the number of prizes; and, as the wind blew strong on the land, the fleet was scattered, and some of the Dutch ships that had struck were enabled to effect their escape. The prizes were eight ships of the line, two of 56 guns, and one of 44; the *Delft* of 56 guns foundered in sight of the British coast, and a frigate also was lost. A more san-

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 Admiral Duncan defeats the Dutch Fleet.
 

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guinary battle was never fought; for in nine ships of Admiral Duncan's fleet, the killed and wounded exceeded 700, and the loss of the cold, but intrepid Dutch, must have been very severe. The flag ships of the enemy lost not less than 250 men each; and not a single ship among the prizes lost less than 100 men. The battle was fought so near the shore that thousands of spectators beheld the whole of it, without having it in their power to give the smallest relief.

The gallantry of Admiral Duncan is justly entitled to applause; but no part of his conduct is more deserving of commendation than his getting between the enemy and the land. This was a manœuvre which none who were before him had ever attempted, in circumstances so evidently critical. When he returned home he was created Baron Duncan, of Lundie, in the country of Perth, and Viscount Duncan, of Camperdown, from the place on the coast of Holland, off which his lordship gained the memorable victory. This glorious victory made every heart rejoice; when the news arrived a general illumination took place throughout the kingdom, and the king went in state to St. Paul's cathedral; the procession was attended by three waggons bearing flags, that had been taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, during the war, and these were severally borne to the altar by a flag-officer, who had been present when they were taken. A number of officers and seamen attended, and all ranks felt the obligation they were under to the defenders of their country.

The Directory could not help venting their anger in a sort of bulletin war, to produce that artificial mischief which arises out of a state of constant alarm. It would be endless to recite all their declarations of wrath and ven-

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Proclamation of the Directory.

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geance against this country ; one specimen will be sufficient to characterize the whole. On the 26th of October 1797, the Executive Directory decreed, that there should be assembled, without delay, an army, to be called the Army of England, and to be under the command of Citizen General Bonaparte. On the same day the Directory issued a proclamation to the French people, which contains the following passages :—

“ It is at London that the calamities of Europe are fabricated ; it is there that we must put an end to them. Crown at length your exploits by an invasion of the island, whither your ancestors carried slavery, under William the Conqueror, and bring back thither the genius of liberty, which must land there at the same moment with the French. —A lawless enemy has repelled, in fact, all the overtures which could only tend to pacification. You know this enemy ; your indignation fixes on and points him out by name—it is the cabinet of St. James’s—it is the most corrupting and the most corrupted of the governments of Europe—it is the English government.—The Great Nation will avenge the universe ; and for that purpose, Frenchmen ! more means than one present themselves to you ; the most worthy, and the quickest, is a descent upon England.—Thus let the Army of England go and dictate terms of peace in London ! Go, gallant Republicans ! second the unanimous wish of the nation ; go, and restore the liberty of the seas.—And since the British Government looks at this present moment with a ferocious smile on the calamities which have befallen the continent, and glories in its wealth, force it to pay its quota towards the expenses of the war.—What a resplendent glory is held forth to the Army of England ; it is sufficient to point it out.”



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 Their Address to Bonaparte.
 

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The President of the Directory, in an address to General Bonaparte, avowed sentiments which deserve particular notice.

"Peace," said he, "restores order; but, above all, it will procure us the inexpressible advantage of being able to consolidate the Republican Government, and to enable you to give a blow to the insolence of England, to the conquest of which you are called.—Go then, Citizen General! crown so glorious a life by a conquest which the Great Nation owes to its insulted dignity.—Let the conquerors of the Rhine, the Po, and the Tiber, follow your steps—the ocean will be proud of conveying them. He is an untamed slave who blushes at his chains—he invokes by his roarings the vengeance of the earth on the tyrant that oppresses his waves.—He will combat on your side—the elements themselves submit to the man who is free. Pompey did not disdain to crush the pirates; go ye, greater than that Roman! and chain up that gigantic buccaneer, who tyrannizes over the sea; go, and punish in London outrages which have been too long unpunished."

In order to give effect to this farce, a deputation of the merchants of Paris addressed the Directory in a style of gasconade quite in unison with the tinsel professions of that government. The deputation was introduced by the Minister of Finance, who in his speech told the Directory, that "the traders of Paris came to request the legislative body to open a loan, of which the premium should be hypothecated upon our victories.—The loan may be called an English loan."

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Peace of Campo-Formio.

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The spokesman of the deputation then delivered his address to the Directory, which thus concluded :—

“ Citizen Directors ! the Merchants of Paris, of whom we believe ourselves to be the organ, are anxious that you should transmit to the Executive Body a message, to invite them to open a loan, which will afford a sure and ready means to effectuate a descent upon England. This loan may be mortgaged upon an indirect imposition.”

The President, Barras, in a message, communicating this offer to the Council of Five Hundred, observed, that the fund of 40,000,000, to be raised in this manner, would be “ secured on the success of the grand operation which the Directory is now preparing.” And, in the Council, Jean de Brie observed, that the standard of victory would soon “ proceed to punish Albion for its long catalogue of crimes against humanity.”

If any Briton does not feel his blood boil on the perusal of insults like these, he is a disgrace to the memory of those gallant heroes who conquered in the fields of Cressy, Agincourt, and Poitiers : but such insolent menaces cannot fail to excite emotions of resentment in the breast of every Briton, and to inspire them with a consciousness, that they are as able and as willing as ever to avenge the threats, and to punish the temerity of their audacious invaders.

From preliminaries, signed at Leoben, a definitive treaty was ratified between the Emperor and the French Republic, on the 17th of October, at Campo Formio ; the Emperor gave up all claim to the Low Countries, which were to become a part of France, and to its possessions in Italy, which were to form the Cisalpine Republic. In return Bonaparte gave to the Emperor the

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Bonaparte returns to Paris.

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states lately the Republic of Venice, and which he had seized for the purpose of bartering away.

The power of France was clearly and firmly established, and nothing could possibly deprive her of the Herculean staff which she now held in her grasp. Many differences yet remained to be adjusted between France and the German Princes and states; and to settle these points the treaty of Campo Formio provided, that a congress should be held at Rastadt, consisting of plenipotentiaries from the different powers. Upon this congress much of the welfare of Europe depended, and moderate men looked up to it with much anxiety.

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## CHAPTER XLIX.

WHEN Bonaparte had thus crowned his struggles by an advantageous peace, he returned to Paris. On his arrival there he was greeted by every description of persons, in a way the most flattering; all exercised their ingenuity to display some excellent feature, either of the person or the mind of this extraordinary hero, and among the various conceits that his admirers hit upon, some laid claim to the quality of oracular prophecies. The General was in fashion, and who would tell the *beau monde* that it was mistaken! Bonaparte had done much for the country; and whoever might have grounds of complaint against him, he had a strong claim to the gratitude of the French.

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Strictures on his Talents.

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The manners of the General were calculated to gain him the most useful sort of popularity. Courted by all parties, he could easily select the most suitable confidants; these he chose for their prudence and policy, rather than their sentiments. It is not true that he was a Jacobin, or shewed any attachment to persons of that sect. Whether his name was ever enrolled in that club is very doubtful, and if it was, it was only in that careless way, by which some persons in this country became Free Masons or Odd Fellows, without taking any interest in such societies. The nearest character to that taken by Bonaparte at his arrival in Paris in 1797, is that of the Gentlemen Democrats in England, who, carrying their views no further than the overthrow of the existing government, do not condescend to mix with their inferior brethren, any more than is necessary to preserve them as tools, to be used as circumstances may require their services.

This temporizing policy of Bonaparte was advantageous to France; for while he avoided any measures offensive to the factions, they were quiet from a fear of making him an enemy to any premature effort. He would have gained little influence over the public mind, if his character had been like what it has been depicted in various fabrications published in this country. The respect he acquired, arose from the punctuality with which he attended to his private and public duties, and which made a reproof from him of so much weight, that every person was desirous of avoiding it.

Bonaparte, like his family in general, has more good qualities than bad ones, and their bad ones are much less vicious than those of some families full as conspicuous, from whom better might have been expected; the con-

duct of the General had little of that ceremonious politeness in it which is so prized by the admirers of the old courts, and his manners often led him to censure persons less attentive to their duties than he was to his own, which many construed into rudeness. No persons were more sincere to the General than men of science and literature ; his victories had enriched the Museum of Paris with the principal curiosities of the world, and that capital was now the emporium of whatever was rare and valuable in the world of taste and science.

Soon after his arrival, the General was presented with a list of the *Chefs'd'œuvres*, and celebrated curiosities, which the victories of the Republican armies have procured to France.

The year 1798, found France at peace with all the powers on the continent, and her hostile attempts directed alone to Great Britain, except in the instance of Ehrenbreitstein, a German fortress, which was kept in a state of blockade till its fate should be decided by the negotiation at Rastadt.

Seldom was rancour more malevolent than that which kept up the hatred of the French and English governments towards each other, and it was more mischievous in its effects than furnishing mere newspaper and proclamation gasconade. An English captain, Sir W. Sidney Smith, was taken prisoner on the coast of France, attempting to cut out a French ship. This officer the British Government wished to exchange, but the French Government took this to be a fair opportunity of vexing their antagonists ; and they set up a pretence that Sir Sidney could not be considered as an ordinary prisoner of war, and should not be admitted into the ordinary exchanges. No doubt remained with the Directory but

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French prisoners in England.

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that this was an act of injustice, and therefore directly apprehended, that the English Government would take revenge, by ill-treating the French prisoners here. The anxious eye of the Directory was constantly upon the motions of the English administration; their Agent was ordered to look out, and, failing to complain, caused him to be suspected of neglect of duty. M. Chareté was not a bad man, and by no means habitually querulous; he had constant access to his unfortunate countrymen, and received every information as often as he wished; he was in general, satisfied, and no ground of complaint arose that the Government did not correct to his satisfaction. It was, however discovered, that, at Falmouth, the Contractor had supplied the prisoners with bread inferior to the price Government paid, a circumstance that buoyed up the reputation of M. Chareté, by giving him a tale to send over to his Government, of which the Directory made the most ungenerous use. When the conduct of the Contractor was represented, he was punished, and means taken to prevent a repetition of the same fraud; yet the Directory trumpeted the story forth in their gazettes and placards, to justify the wretched manner in which they had treated the English prisoners, even before they had any such excuse to make. A Frenchman, on arriving at Nantes, from an English prison, saw it struck against the walls, that the French prisoners were fed upon dead dogs and cats, and were sometimes brought out, in great numbers, and shot to amuse the people; he declared that it was false, and that he was treated with extreme kindness; but he was told to be silent, and not dare to contradict the Government. As the French sent an agent to look over their prisoners in England, so the British Government appointed Mr. Swinburne, agent to

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English prisoners in France.

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attend to their prisoners in France; but Mr. Swinburne was not allowed access to the prisons, nor to receive any information concerning them directly, but such as the French Commissaries themselves chose to give.

At a Committee appointed by the English Government, several persons were examined as to their treatment while prisoners in France. It appears that little attention was paid to the comfort of those unfortunate people held in France, that their places of confinement were small, crowded, and filthy, and their allowances poor and scanty, while every article was cheap and plentiful near where they were confined. On their marches from where they were taken to, the places appointed for their residence while they were detained, they were obliged to support the soldiers who conducted them out of their scanty pittance, and at night were lodged in a church on wet straw, and when their release was ordered, they were marched back, paying their own expenses. When this was reported to the Marine Minister at Brest by some English officers, he said, he believed all they told him, but that it was not in his power to remedy it or he would; and he desired them to apply to the French Commissary in London, for the difference of the deficiency in what they ought to have received; not only were the provisions curtailed for those who were ill, but even for those who were lame.

The French Commissary for prisoners was examined before a committee held in London, as to the state in which he saw the different prisons in England, and he gives the highest credit to the Government for the allowances they made to support the prisoners, and said that whatever faults there were, doubtless arose with the Contractors; at some places he did see articles supplied not by any means equal to the price that Government paid

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The French refuse an exchange.

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for them, but that on stating this to the Transport Board, under whose care the prisoners were, every attention was paid to his remonstrances. It, however, appears from the minutes of the committee, that Monsieur Chareté had written to the Directory that the prison at Norman Cross was crowded to excess, and many irregularities occurred. This, however, he denied to the Committee, and it appeared from the evidence of the Medical Officers who attended, and two French Medical men who also assisted, that this was not the case. A great deal of cruelty and jealousy existed relative to the prisoners of war in France ; and was the occasion of many unpleasant circumstances between the two nations, but the Committee resolved there was no fault to be found with those in England.

Those who have any doubt upon this subject should consult the Report at large, which enters into a general detail ; but we may observe in this place, that the Directory knew, when it pressed for a general exchange of prisoners, that it threw an obstacle in the way, which freed the English Government from all blame, on account of the cartel being delayed ; it was insisted upon that the British should give up all claim to the number of prisoners that they had a right to demand in exchange for Frenchmen liberated on parole, amounting to 7019, and also give up 4000 more, above what they expected to receive any exchange for, before they could change Sir Sydney Smith for an officer of equal rank.

This was what the Directory called diplomatic skill, and it may be some time before the world will be guided by that pure virtue, which will be sufficient to despise the advantages gained by such successful cunning ; it will certainly please many readers to tell them



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Insurrection in the Pays-de-Vaud.

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that it was unsuccessful in this case ; for some English residents in Holland contrived to find out the price of a person near to Sir Sydney, and, by means of a supply of money, enabled both Sir Sydney and his guard to escape from the danger of his pursuers.

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## CHAPTER L.

WHILST this vexatious contest with the English Government went on, one, equally unjust, took place on the continent. The interfering in the affairs of other governments had been evinced by the Directory, as strongly as by Bonaparte in the case of St. Marino ; but Switzerland had rejected any assistance, and resolved to remain independent both of friends and foes. The subjugation of that country had been long considered by the Executive Directory, and its accomplishment was only delayed by the influence of Carnot and Barthelemy ; a principal reason why they were marked out for banishment. An insurrection in the Pays-de-Vaud was raised, by French principles and French bribery, to justify entering the country with an armed force, to aid the people to obtain their freedom, and purify their government. General Schauenburg, with 15,000 men, was ordered to march towards that country, to support the claims of the petitioners in the Pays-de-Vaud with the bayonet. A proclamation was issued by the Supreme Council of Berne, requesting the people of the Pays-de-Vaud to assemble in arms, to repeat their oath of allegiance, and not only to contend for their ancient rights, but labour for their

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*The Government of Berne raises an Army.*

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re-establishment to the utmost of their power. As the claims of the insurgents were not directly attended to, an insurrection was the consequence. The insurgents took the fort of Chillon, and disturbances appeared in the southern districts; the government of Berne meant to bring the insurgents to a sense of their duty by force of arms, and General Weiss was sent against them with 20,000 men. Whether the tardy movements of this general originated from design or not, we cannot determine, yet they served to confirm the disaffected in their perseverance; and the arrival of the French general decided the fate of the country. The French general no sooner passed the boundaries than he sent an officer to the Swiss commanders, with two hussars, to Yverdon, but on his return one of the hussars was killed at Thuriens. Schauenburg considered this as tantamount to a declaration of war, and his troops immediately marched forward, while those of General Weiss commenced a retreat, which placed the whole Pays-de-Vaud in the hands of the French during the month of February. Still the Government of Berne had some hopes of averting the impending destruction; and to accomplish this object, they delivered up the centinels by whom the hussars had been killed, and entered into fresh negotiations. But it now seemed impossible to prevent a war with France, although the Government used every means to rouse the people to contribute to their assistance: it was decreed that fifty-two deputies should be added to the council, selected from the chief towns and communes, who proposed a radical reform of abuses in the existing government; which laudable example was imitated by Fribourg, Lucerne, Soleure, Zurich, and Schaffhausen. In this state of affairs they negotiated with the Executive Directory of

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The Army of Switzerland retreats.

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France, but continued a force of 20,000 men, under General d'Erlach, the rest of the cantons of Switzerland furnishing about 5500 men. An armistice was concluded with Schauenberg in the Pays-de-Vaud, when General Brune advanced to his assistance, and fresh troops from France entered Switzerland. The truce was to have expired on the 1st of March, but General d'Erlach demanded his troops to be put in motion on the 26th of February, being apprehensive that their ardour would cool. This order was complied with, and the different posts were informed that hostilities would commence on the 1st of March.

General Brune agreed to protract the armistice or truce, for the space of thirty hours; and on the 2d of March, the castle of Dornach, situated on the northern extremity of the Canton of Soleure, four miles and a half south of Basle, was attacked and carried by the Republicans, when 13,000 men proceeded to the walls of that town, which surrendered to General Schauenberg. The fate of Fribourg soon followed, submitting to General Brune, when the army of Switzerland was under the necessity of retreating. The advances of the French army were seconded by a spirit of disaffection, too apparent in the army of General d'Erlach, and a proclamation was made by the Council of Berne, that the levy of the *Landsturm* (rising in a mass) was ready for action; but it was a measure productive of pernicious effects. When possessed of arms the people soon dissolved their own government, established a *pro tempore* regency, stated their proceedings to General Brune, and ordered the army to be dismissed, on condition that the French troops did not advance beyond their present positions. These concessions, however,

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Mutiny in the Army of Switzerland.

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met not the views of the Republican commander; for he demanded that the town should be garrisoned by the soldiers of France. Mutiny broke out in the army of Switzerland, which put to death a number of their officers, who were unfriendly to their views; it appears that no fewer than 11,500 men had abandoned this army. About 8000 of the regular troops were stationed at Newenegg, while 6400 maintained their station at Frauenbrun, to carry which General Schauenberg marched from Soleure with 18,000 men. Both places were attacked by the French on the 5th of March, when the glorious resistance of the Swiss troops, stationed at Newenegg, seemed to portend a future victory; but those at Frauenbrun were under the necessity of retreating. General d'Erlach rallied his troops at Uteren, four miles and a half south of Frauenbrun, when another action took place, which also terminated in favour of the Republicans. The Swiss again faced the enemy at Grauboltz, about five miles north-east of Berne, but were driven to the very gates of the metropolis, and totally defeated. In this engagement the Swiss are computed to have lost 2000 men killed and wounded, and the French not less than 1800.

The city of Berne capitulated, and was entered in triumph on the evening of the 5th. The Swiss troops at Newenegg and Guminen, were forced to retreat; the soldiers at the latter place put their officers to death in a fit of despair, and the unfortunate General d'Erlach, was murdered by his own men, in escaping from the field of battle. The conquest of Berne led to the surrender of almost all Switzerland, though many parts of that free country seemed determined to resist to the last extremity; they defeated General Schauenburg, with the prodigious loss of 3000 men, after he had assented to a treaty, oblig-

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Bonaparte returns from Paris to Rastadt.

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ing himself not to take possession of the smaller cantons. It could not be supposed that the spirit of a few towns could resist the power of large victorious armies. The French Generals proclaimed a new form of government ; and by laying heavy contributions, and quartering troops upon the inhabitants, goaded them into submission to the new system, which was styled "The Helvetic Republic."

The French Government with a prodigious army, at perfect leisure, found little difficulty in giving a strong appearance of sincerity to its threats of invading the British dominions. Bonaparte, who commanded that immense body of forces, called "The Army of England," was sent to Radstadt, as the French Plenipotentiary to the Congress, which seemed to place the object of the expedition at a great distance of time : the English Government, however, thought it made a very shrewd discovery, when it traced its destination to Ireland ; and circumstances occurred to strengthen the opinion. Bonaparte continued at Radstadt just long enough to find fault with some of the members, when he returned to Paris ; this proved that he was ready to go to Ireland, especially as at that time several persons, connected with the United Irishmen, were detected in a cart, upon the coast of Kent, with a design to engage the first boat they could hire to take them over to France, to present a Paper to the Directory, inviting it to send an army over to help a club of spongers in London to overturn the Government !

The United Irish were so impatient, to put their plans in execution, that some of their leaders recommended an instant rising. The situation of the Irish Government was every day more critical, as they could not be certain

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**Parliament draws up a Report on the Rebellion.**

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where the blow was to be aimed, nor what means should be made use of to render it ineffectual: but the mysterious designs of their leaders were gradually unfolded by secret information, and defensive measures were adopted. At Belfast, in the house of one Alexander, Colonel Barb found two different Committees actually sitting. The minutes and papers were seized, among which were the printed Declaration and Constitution of the United Irishmen, and others of a similar tendency, which gave the fullest information respecting their designs. The magistrates discovered more papers, of equal importance, which explained their intentions, and corroborated every previous discovery. The papers thus found were submitted to the Secret Committees of both houses of Parliament, and each house drew up a report, in conformity to the evidence they contained. The military force was augmented, the insurrection act was enforced; some divisions of the country were declared out of the King's peace, and vast quantities of concealed arms were seized on.

It has been stated that some persons were arrested on the coast of Kent, going, or desirous of going, to France. Of these five persons, the greatest number were the most vain and giddy-minded that could have been chosen to transact any human concern. Vanity alone led them to choose Whitstaple as the best road of going to France, for they might have got room in any of the vessels that take passengers to the continent under neutral colours, only they fancied themselves such great men, that they could not follow the usual track without being watched. One of them, O'Coigly, assumed the air of a man of business; he affected to have forgotten to put some letters of the very first importance into the post, and sent off to

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**Some People in Manchester arrested.**

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the next post two letters, one directed to Manchester and one to Amsterdam. This circumstance, which our wise-acres intended to shew the people that they had something to do, put them upon inquiring what that something could be ; and the very sound of Amsterdam (not because it was an enemy's country, but because it was a gin country) made the Comptroller of the Customs think that there was something in this that led to the improvement of his fortune, and he transmitted the letters to the Secretary of State, who escorted our travellers to London instead of to Paris.

The letter to Manchester was addressed to a manufacturer there, who had shewn some kindnesses to O'Coigly, from a letter of recommendation which he had presented on his arrival from Dundalk, where he was an officiating priest ; and it was resolved to set a watch upon the manufacturer and his friends, to try if some circumstances could not be discovered that would afford a pretext for arresting them as traitors. One of the Manchester magistrates selected a man to act as a spy upon the occasion, for which he was qualified, by having acted as a sort of valet-du-place to O'Coigly at Manchester. This man collected some few persons in the town, chiefly Irish, and persuaded them to get the oath printed, which the United Men in Ireland used to administer to each other. The manufacturer above alluded to, a tailor, and a printer, who had printed the Irish oath, were all arrested. To give aclat to this proceeding, these persons were put in irons, and paraded to London, amidst the convoys of loyal volunteers, who were called out at every stage between Manchester and London, to take their share in the escort.

About this period the English ministers and the English

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Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

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newspapers began to make Bonaparte of consequence, by personal abuse; and it may be recollected, that the same press which opened its abuse against Napoleon, inserted calumnies enough to justify the arrest of forty or fifty inhabitants of London, under a pretence that they met secretly to learn the use of arms, and were in possession of dangerous weapons, to aid the enemy in case he should invade the kingdom. Upon this charge the British Legislature suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and many were consequently consigned to prison.

Of those thus arrested some were known to be decidedly averse to the French Government and the whole of its measures; and many were charged with no offence, but having attempted to visit their friends, thus suspected of being traitors.

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CHAPTER LI.

BEFORE we enter upon the rebellion which the spirit of the two countries produced in Ireland, we must observe that a system of co-operation had been adopted among the disaffected by means of descending committees, which enabled the supreme council rapidly to communicate its instructions to the whole associated body. The executive power communicated with the representatives of provinces, which were four in number: Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster; these again communicated with the representatives of baronies, who also communi-



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*The Members of the Irish Directory.*

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cated with the representatives of every hundred men associated in his barony ; and the representatives of hundreds communicated with the representatives of tens ; which last held the office of corporal in the malcontent army. Thus an immense population could be called into action by an invisible agency ; and the attempts of government to suppress this insurrection could not be very successful, unless it could secure the directing power. To this the eye of government was directed, and information was obtained where a meeting of Provincial Delegates would assemble. The police were thus enabled to seize in Dublin, fourteen of the principal representatives, with all their papers, plans, lists of names, &c.

In forming the new government the Irish leaders had shewn themselves the imitators of the French. The supreme power was lodged in a Directory, consisting of five men ; and they considered all persons attached to the established government as rebels, whose estates should be confiscated for the good of their new republic ! The Five Directors were, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the Duke of Leinster ; Mr. Arthur O'Connor, a descendant from Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught ; Mr. Oliver Bond ; Counsellor Emmet ; and Dr. M'Nevin. Of these the three latter were arrested ; and Mr. O'Connor was among the persons taken with O'Coigly on the coast of Kent. But the principal power remained ; for Lord Edward Fitzgerald possessed great military talents, and was adored by the Irish. The vacancies in the Directory were filled up ; yet, as it was unknown how Government obtained its information, they could not prevent its getting intelligence of all the movements that were adopted ; the new Directory were arrested ; and Lord Edward only escaped by the peculiar disguise he assumed, and

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Lord Edward Fitzgerald betrayed.

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the care he took to avoid attending any of the meetings in person.

Frequent interruptions retarded the general rising ; it was the middle of May before they could make even a partial attempt. Both parties laid the highest importance on the services of Lord Edward, and were equally of opinion, that the success or miscarriage of the rebellion might depend upon his being able to place himself at the head of the United Irishmen. The moment at last arrived ; and nothing remained but to give the final instructions to those who were to lead the different bands against the King's forces. Lord Edward went to meet them at a cabaret in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where vanity led to the discovery of his lordship, and the derangement of all the plans of the insurgents.

It is worthy of remark, that in Ireland, as well as in England and France, during the whole revolutionary struggle, those who declaimed against rank and titles became reconciled to them when they were associated in any manner with themselves : it was no uncommon thing to hear an apostle of equality claim the honour of having been within the sight or the hearing of some lord, when he would have been covered with disgrace to have been surprised in conversation with an honest cobbler. This was the case at the meeting of the Irish Chiefs ; the party had the air of a convivial company, and care was taken to disguise the person, and conceal the character of the Generalissimo ; but one of them, who perhaps never addressed a nobleman before, in the intoxication of his soul, directed some observation to his leader, whom he accosted by his title of " Lord Edward." This was overheard by a servant girl, and notice was given to the police, in consequence of which Government traced out his

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 Lord Edward Fitzgerald arrested—His desperate Resistance.
 

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residence, and arrested the principal persons who were to act under him.

Having made such use of their information as was thought necessary previous to securing Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Government ordered him to be taken into custody on the 21st of May. An idea may be formed of what he would have done at the head of an army, from his having resisted three officers who attempted to take him, one of whom he wounded, after having killed another, and defended himself against the third, till he received two wounds, of which he died in a few days.

The 23d of May was fixed upon for the general attack, and Lord Edward continued in Dublin, to head those corps which were to seize the castle, and alarm the whole country, in getting possession of the metropolis by a coup de main. Not a leader of consequence now remained with the insurgents, and their own zeal alone guided them in the enterprise into which they were about to plunge. Unorganized as they were, it was resolved to attack the King's forces in their camp a few miles from Dublin, and seize upon the cannon in that neighbourhood. The town of Naas was entered in defiance of the military, and several on both sides were killed and wounded.

The rebellion was general in the province of Leinster, and the counties of Kildare, Wexford, and Wicklow were chiefly occupied by the insurgents, by whom every thing was done to get possession of Dublin, that could be expected from a rabble, headed by bigoted priests. Though greatly superior in numbers, the insurgents were kept at bay by the King's forces, and vigorous measures were adopted by the Government. The northern countries did not rise to second those of the south,

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Murphy, a Priest, heads the Insurgents.

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so that the royal armies concentrated themselves in defence of the chief points of attack.

Father John Murphy, a priest, put himself at the head of the principal force, and with a large body of followers formed a tolerably well fortified camp at Vinegar Hill; from whence numerous parties issued in irregular order, and committed the most wanton cruelties upon the persons and estates of those differing from them in opinion. In their predatory excursions they took many prisoners, chiefly protestants; these were shut up within the camp, and were often brought out and cruelly butchered by pikes or bayonets, under pretence of their being about to escape! Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of this furious rabble; and were it possible that numbers were capable of subduing regular troops, (as has been said with regard to the French) the United Irish must have triumphed over the King's forces; but the very first serious onset gave confidence to the Government and its friends, and destroyed the hopes of the rebels; multitudes of the insurgents fell at the first charge, whilst the soldiers killed were comparatively trifling; and the unruly assailants, once thrown into confusion, every effort to rally them was ineffectual; they could only save themselves by flight.

Though those who now managed the insurrection knew little of the correspondence that existed between their late Directory and that of France, there was an idea among them that a French armament was to co-operate in their enterprise. Great exertions were in consequence made to take the town and port of Wexford; and this was done, owing to the impossibility of sending reinforcements in sufficient time from Dublin.

It was a fault both of the Government and the people, that the smallest credit was given to the French; for, though there were near 150,000 men in that army, artfully styled "The Army of England," not a single regiment made its appearance on the Irish coast. While they kept Wexford the insurgents gained some advantages, which increased their numbers and inflamed their hopes. They determined on the capture of Ross, which was defended by 1400 effective men, besides artillery. The fury of this contest resembled one of those savage struggles that occur among the barbarous hordes of Africa, rather than a battle between the armies of a civilized people. The assailants were 30,000 strong, and advanced upon the town, with horrid yells and the clattering of pikes, about five o'clock in the morning, equally inspired with religion and whiskey! They actually got possession of the town, an advantage they might have secured, was it not for the anarchy that prevailed over the general body. They were soon entirely subdued by the potent draughts of strong drink in which they indulged; and General Johnson retook the town with very little difficulty.

France could supply her arsenals and flotillas by the internal navigation of Holland and the Low Countries; and it was considered necessary to destroy some of the works, that should interrupt that communication. Those of Bruges were ordered for destruction, and an expedition under Sir Home Popham and General Coote, landed at Ostend, from whence they marched to Bruges, where they did much mischief to the works: but before the English troops could return to their transports the French took them prisoners. The French had settled to condemn them to repair the mischief they had done, but,

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A French Division landed at Killala.

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upon a survey, it was found that all the injury the bason had received could be obviated at a small expense, within a short time.

The cruelties made use of by the catholics towards the protestants in Ireland, made the rebellion appear more like a superstitious crusade than a struggle for liberty, and many of the United Men eagerly withdrew from a contest, in which success would only prepare the gibbet for themselves and families.

The King's troops retook Wexford, and the insurgents after one month were obliged to take shelter among the hills and fastnesses, whence they could gain very little by any kind of auxiliary force, even if their treacherous allies should send one.

Wexford was still in the hands of the insurgents, when news was brought that Bonaparte had put to sea with his army, convoyed by the flower of the French navy. Time passed away but no tidings were heard of the General; the alarm increased, and it was but just known that Bonaparte had been at Malta, without declaring his future destination, when accounts stated that a French army had landed on the western coast of Ireland.

The French General, Humbert, landed at Killala on the 22d of August, which created such consternation that the Lord Lieutenant took the field in person, with a numerous force. It was a great disappointment to General Humbert on his landing, to find that few of the inhabitants were inclined to join him, since their late numerous defeats made them consider their cause as hopeless.

General Humbert shewed a display of great military skill, and evinced himself worthy to command on a hazardous expedition. Although the forces destined to stop his progress were much more numerous than his own yet

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The French surrender to General Lake.

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he judged that slow movements would be against his future success, and he marched quickly towards Castlebar, where General Lake was collecting his forces. On the 27th he engaged the British General, and compelled him to retreat with the loss of six pieces of cannon, and a few men. The troops under General Lake have been stated at 6000 men, while those of the French commander were under 900. Humbert next marched towards Tuam; but it was impossible with such a force he could be victorious without the co-operation of the people at large. On the 7th of September the Lord Lieutenant overtook the enemy near Castlebar, and compelled them to retrograde. General Humbert took a circuitous march, and thus favoured the retreat of the rebels.

The French rear-guard was overtaken at Ballinamuck and summoned to lay down their arms. They shewed no signs of compliance, and the British troops attacked them, when about 200 of them threw down their arms, hoping that their example would be followed by the rest of their countrymen, but as General Craddock advanced, they poured upon him a heavy fire, by which he was wounded. Fresh reinforcements were ordered by General Lake, and an attack commenced against them in every direction, when in about half an hour the whole of them surrendered. About ninety-three of the unfortunate insurgents were taken prisoners, and three of their Generals, viz. Blake, Roach and Teeling. Four of the rebels, who had joined the invaders, were hanged at Castlebar by order of General Humbert, for plunder and rapine.

It is manifest something was looked for from this expedition, since a brig was seen off the island of Raghlin on the 16th of September, and the crew landed, among whom was General Rey and Napper Tandy, a general of

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Lord Cornwallis prevails on the People to return to their Duty.

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brigade in the service of France. After inquiring concerning the troops which landed at Killala, they were much dejected when informed of their defeat; they sounded the inhabitants by manifestoes, but found that the sentiments of Irishmen were changed; they had suffered from the British military and the tardiness of their Gallic friends. Finding matters in such a situation, they embarked and put to sea.

Soon after the French Republic made another attempt to subjugate Ireland, but it was ultimately fruitless; it was not made till the Irish coast was protected. A squadron of one sail of the line and eight frigates sailed from Brest, and by the 11th of the ensuing month was discovered by Sir J. B. Warren. The battle commenced on the morning of the 12th of October, and the Hoche, the enemy's line of battle ship, did not strike to the British flag till about eleven o'clock, after a resistance which did honour to her commander. The frigates crowded all the sail they could carry, to effect their escape, and were chased by the British admiral; three of them were captured during that day, and a like number soon after. The whole squadron, with the exception of two frigates, were thus totally defeated.

When the insurgents had been subdued and many examples made of the prisoners, it was thought advisable to take measures to weaken the ranks, by the disaffection of those who might not be very zealous in the insurrection. With this view bills of attainder were passed by the Irish Parliament against the leaders, and a bill of amnesty for those who would accept it within a certain time. Lord Cornwallis was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and by his mild and benevolent manners prevailed on the people to return to their usual occupations, and induced the



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*France seeks an Alliance with Hyder Ally.*

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leaders, who were still under arrest, to purchase their lives by a disclosure of the circumstances that led to the rebellion.

The struggle now only existed with a few fool-hardy marauders, headed by Holt, an obscure individual of great talent, whose well-contrived stratagems eluded the vigilance of his pursuers, until they granted him his life, upon condition of his quitting the country.

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CHAPTER LII.

FRANCE had long envied the territorial and commercial greatness of Britain in the East Indies, and every thing had been made use of to entangle that country in constant hostilities with the native governments. In these views Hyder Ally, who had usurped the throne and territory of Mysore, entertained a similar hatred to the English, from obstacles which their power opposed to his enterprising schemes. An alliance between France and Hyder obliged the English to be constantly on the alert in the East Indies; and though the British arms were triumphant in every contest, the danger increased with the progress of time, inasmuch as the French officers and engineers instructed their allies in all the mysteries of European tactics.

Tippoo Saib, son and successor to Hyder, evinced the

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Expedition to Egypt planned by the French.

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same dislike and attachment, and being severely beaten by the English just before the war which took place with the Republic, thought that likely to afford him an opportunity of gratifying his resentment; mutual convenience drew the two powers together, and the army of the Sultan was officered by Frenchmen. The designs of Tippoo were not doubted, but occupied as France was with the combined powers of Europe, she could spare no force to co-operate with him. When the continental war finished, this difficulty was removed; but there was another, and that was the superiority of the British navy, now triumphant in every sea.

France had resolved to attack the British possessions in India, and the enterprising spirit of Bonaparte was suited to the hazard of the undertaking. It was resolved to seize upon the territory of Egypt, that by moving the commerce of the East through the Red Sea, the new French colony should become the grand mart, where all Europe might be supplied with Indian articles, cheaper than they could be had from the English; while, as a military post it could at all times transport auxiliaries to the coast of Coromandel. This plan was imparted to Tippoo, and the government in India knew it nearly as soon as it was known in London.

It was the expedition to Egypt that the Directory and the General were preparing, whilst they masked their designs under the appearance of organizing an army of England, to co-operate with the United Irishmen, although the object was concealed with so much address, that it was doubtful, after it was known that Malta had been captured, whether the General might not, even from thence, bend his course for Ireland.

When the British Government had most to fear from

the Irish insurrection, and when it was obliged to guard every French port on the western ocean, that part of the Army of England cantoned in the southern ports, put to sea, under the command of Bonaparte. On the 20th of May, 1798, the General put to sea from Toulon on board the *l'Orient*, of 120 guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Bruyes, to take the command of a fleet then assembling from the different ports of France, which was to consist of thirteen sail of the line, besides four frigates, and near four hundred transports. On board the fleet was an army of 40,000 men, and a vast number of adventurers, who associated their fate with this expedition, without knowing more of it than that Bonaparte was at its head; there were a great number of men of science and others, all of them capable of contributing to the prosperity of a new colony; and the whole of this, including the sailors, made the number engaged in the expedition amount to near 70,000 souls.

The frigates led the van; the Admiral followed, and the ships of the line formed the rear; the transports kept in shore, between the Hieres and the Levant.

Malta was seen on the 26th of June, and two crazy barks came off to sell tobacco. Bonaparte asked permission to water his fleet, but the Grand Master refused to grant his request; this gave Bonaparte an excuse for commencing hostilities.

At day-break on the 11th a languid fire was maintained; a bark came out of the port, and was conducted to the *l'Orient*; at eleven, a second, under a flag of truce, brought those Knights who chose to abandon Malta. It appeared that the garrison was almost totally unprovided, and at four P. M. there were fewer men than guns on the walls of the fort. It was plain that the citizens and

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He takes the Island of Malta.

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**K**night's had disagreed, the gates of the forts being shut, and all intercourse between them and the city at an end. The General sent his aid-de-camp, Junot, with his ultimatum ; soon after twelve Maltese commissioners came on board the *l'Orient*, and on the 12th, at half past eleven, Malta was in the power of the French. Under a salute of 500 guns from the fleet, the French troops took possession of the forts, thus completing the conquest of the strongest post in the Mediterranean.

In the orders issued by Bonaparte at Malta, there is one more barbarous than was the Greek in which it was written ; when it is considered, that he had only the same right to dictate laws at Malta that the robber has when he has broken into the house of a peaceable man, and stolen his property.

This order began in the usual way,

**LIBERTY !**

**EQUALITY !**

It first relates to the mode of worship in the island, and that protection should be given to the Jews who might wish to establish themselves there. That all the Greeks who should keep any connection with Russia, should be put to death ; and all vessels under Russian colours be sent to the bottom. He then writes a letter to the Bishop of Malta, thanking him for his reception of the French troops, telling him the high opinion he entertains of the character of a good priest, and begging him to repair to the town of Malta, and by his influence to preserve harmony among the people. That he wishes to be introduced to the different chiefs, and begs the Bishop to be convinced of his esteem and consideration.

Within eight days Bonaparte took the island of Malta, organized a provisional government, victualled the fleet, took in water, and arranged all the dispositions. He

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Sends a Frigate to Alexandria for Intelligence.

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quitted it on the 19th of June, leaving the command to General Vaubois, and appointed Citizen Menard Commissary of Marine.

On the 26th the Captain of the *Juno* received orders to make all sail for Alexandria, now sixty leagues distant, and there to learn from the French Consul, whether the expedition had been heard of, and the disposition of the inhabitants with regard to the enterprise. This was to be the first vessel to anchor on the African shore, and was to collect the Frenchmen in Alexandria, and shelter them from the tumults the arrival of the fleet might excite. This done, the *Juno* was to return to the rendezvous of the fleet, six leagues off Cape Brulé. By noon, on the 27th, the welcome cry of "Land!" was heard, and at six o'clock it was visible from the deck, extending like a white stripe along the dark edge of the sea, while nothing interrupted the monotony of the scene. The *Juno* weathered Cape Durazo; and a Lieutenant was sent on shore, who returned at midnight with the French Consul and Dragoman on board, and the frigate sailed to join the fleet.

The fleet having shortened sail to wait for intelligence, the General distributed his general orders among the forces: he had addressed a Proclamation to the army immediately on his arrival at Toulon, the tendency and design of which was to preserve the idea of the expedition being about to invade the British dominions.

If the army had any conception of the voyage, or of the kind of warfare they were about to engage in, before they quitted France, probably they would have matined sooner than have engaged in the expedition; but as they were promised by the General six acres of land for each man as the price of the first victory, and they imagined

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Bonaparte's Proclamation to his Army.

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that they were steering for England, they embarked on the voyage as on a party of pleasure. It was, however, necessary to set England before them, as the goal to which they were hastening, and Egypt as no more than an out-post.

He addresses them in a proclamation, stating that though they had done much, yet much more remained for them to do; that the eyes of Europe were fixed on them; they must be united, and recollect that in time of battle they stood in need of each other; and tells the marines that, though formerly neglected, they will be worthy of the army of which they form a part. In another proclamation he tells them they are going to undertake a valuable conquest, and give the English a most sensible blow; that they shall have much to do, and fight several battles; but that they shall succeed in every thing. He then rails against the Mamelukes, who, he says, tyrannize over the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile; but that they shall cease to exist; that they are going to live amongst mahometants, and advises them not to dispute their faith; he desires them to treat their Muftis with respect; he cautions them against pillage, that it dishonours them and destroys their resources. He then says, the first city they shall arrive at was built by Alexander, and that they will meet at every step with objects to excite emulation.

He then issues General Orders from on board the l'Orient. He commences by ordering the Generals who shall command detached divisions, to seal up the registers of the revenue; that all the Mamelukes shall be arrested and taken to head quarters. He then makes a disposition of all horses and camels for the use of the army,

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Bonaparte's Letter to the Commander-in-Chief at Alexandria.

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and states the sum to be paid for each by the Quarter-Master General ; and concludes by stating, that all soldiers stealing horses or camels shall be punished.

In a subsequent order he fixes the superintendence of the coast, and appoints the officers to their situations ; and adds a clause, that all sailors under thirty shall be put in requisition.

The Consul arrived on board the Admiral's ship ; he stated, that the appearance of the French frigate caused the immediate adoption of measures against the christian inhabitants of the city, and that he found great difficulty in coming away ; he added, that fourteen English vessels appeared on the 28th of June, within half a league of Alexandria, and that Admiral Nelson had directed his course towards the north-east ; and informed the General, that it was determined to defend the city and forts of Alexandria, against any troops that should attempt to land.

Whereupon the General wrote the following letter :

*BONAPARTE, Member of the National Institute, Commander-in-Chief, to the Commander of the Caraval, at Alexandria.*

Head Quarters, on board the l'Orient, July 1.

“ The Beys have loaded our merchants with exactions, and I am come to demand reparation.

“ I shall be at Alexandria to-morrow ; but this ought not to alarm you. You are a subject of our great friend the Sultan ; conduct yourself accordingly ; but if you commit the slightest act of hostility against the French army, I shall treat you as an enemy, and you will have

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*French Army land in Egypt.*

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no one to blame for it but yourself ; for such a thing is far from my intention, and from my heart.

“ Your’s,

“ BONAPARTE.”

The General in Chief, the same evening, made arrangements for landing, and fixed on the Point at Marabou as the spot ; he ordered the fleet to anchor as near the Point as possible ; but two ships of war, in preparing to execute this, ran foul of the Admiral’s ship, which caused the order to be countermanded, and the armament remained at its then situation. They were at a distance of about three leagues from the shore, the wind was northerly, and blew with violence, and the debarkation was equally perilous and difficult ; but nothing could retard the brave men, who were eager to anticipate the hostile dispositions of the inhabitants.

The sea was covered with boats, which stemmed the impetuosity of the waves. The galley with Bonaparte approached the nearest breakers, whence the entrance to the creek of Marabou was discovered ; he waited for those boats that were to join him, but they arrived not till after sun-set, and could not, during the night, penetrate the ledge of breakers. Early in the morning the General in Chief landed, at the head of the foremost troops, who formed in the desert, about three leagues from Alexandria.



## CHAPTER LIII.

THE account of the first proceedings, as given by Louis Bonaparte, lately King of Holland, in a letter to his brother Joseph, dated Alexandria, July 6, plainly proves the defenceless state of the people, while it is less bombastic than other French accounts.

“ At break of day on the 2d we invested Alexandria, after driving into the [town several small detachments of cavalry. The enemy defended themselves like men\*; the artillery which they planted on the walls was wretchedly served, but their musketry was excellent. These people have no idea of children’s play; they either kill or are killed. The first inclosure, however, that is to say, that of the city of the Arabs, was carried; and soon after the second, in spite of the fire from the houses. The forts which are on the coast, on the other side of the city, were then invested, and in the evening capitulated.

“ Since the 2d of July we have been engaged in disembarking the troops, the artillery, and the baggage. General Desaix is at Demanhur, on the Nile; the rest of the army is to follow him.

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\* Yet those tender-hearted Frenchmen, who came to visit them in pure friendship, to introduce liberty and happiness amongst them, could not be restrained from pillaging the city, and massacring its inhabitants, during the space of four hours, until, in the *polite* and inoffensive language of Berthier, “ a great slaughter took place.”

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His Description of the Bedouins.

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“The place where we disembarked is about two leagues from hence, at the tower of Marabou, or the Isles des Arabes. The two first days we had a number of stragglers cut off by the Arab and Mameluke cavalry. I imagine that we have lost about 100 killed, and as many wounded. The Generals Kleber, Menou, and Lasalle, are wounded.

“I send you the proclamation to the inhabitants of the country, which has produced an effect altogether astonishing. The Bedouins, enemies of the Mamelukes, and who, properly speaking, are neither more nor less than intrepid robbers, sent us back, as soon as they had read it, thirty of our people whom they had made prisoners, with an offer of their services against the Mamelukes. We have treated them kindly. They are an invincible people inhabiting a burning desert, mounted on the fleetest horses in the world, and full of courage : they live with their wives and children in flying camps, which are never pitched two nights together in the same place. They are horrible savages, and yet they have some notion of gold and silver ; a small quantity of it serves to excite their admiration. Yes, my dear brother, they love gold ; they pass their lives in extorting it from such Europeans as fall into their hands ; and for what purpose ?—for continuing the course of life which I have described, and for teaching it to their children. O Jean Jacques ! why was it not thy fate to see those men, whom thou callest ‘the men of nature?’ Thou wouldest sink with shame, thou wouldest startle with horror at the thought of having once admired them !

“Adieu, my dear brother, let me hear from you soon. I suffered a great deal on our passage ; this climate kills

me ; we shall be so altered [that you will discover the change at a league's distance.

" The remarkable objects here are, Pompey's column, the obelisks of Cleopatra, the spot where her baths once stood, a number of ruins, a subterraneous temple, some catacombs, mosques, and a few churches. But what is still more remarkable, is the character and manners of the inhabitants ; they are of a *sang-froid* absolutely astonishing ; nothing agitates them ; and death itself is to them what a voyage to America is to the English.

" Their exterior is imposing ; the most marked physiognomies amongst us are mere children's countenances compared to theirs. The women wrap themselves up in a piece of cloth which passes over their heads, and descends in front to the eyebrows. The poorer sort cover the whole of their face with linen, leaving only two small apertures for the eyes ; so that, if this strange veil happens to be a little shrivelled, or stained, they look like so many hobgoblins.

" Their forts and their artillery are the most ridiculous things in nature. They have not even a lock, nor a window to their houses ; in a word, they are still involved in all the blindness of the earliest ages.

" Oh ! how many misanthropes would be converted, if chance should conduct them into the midst of the deserts of Arabia !"

Bonaparte, on establishing his head-quarters at Alexandria, issued a proclamation, wherein he states, that the Beys from Georgia have desolated the country, and oppressed the French merchants in various ways ; that he is arrived, and the fate of the Beys is sealed. He tells the inhabitants that the French are come to rescue them

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**The Inhabitants ordered to surrender their Arms.**

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from the hands of their tyrants ; that they adore God, and honour the prophet and the Koran ; that their friendship shall be extended to all who shall join them, or maintain a strict neutrality—but for the Beys there shall be no deliverance ; that all the villages shall send to the French General, stating their submission, and will hoist the French flag—every village opposing the French to be burned ; that the Cheiks and other public officers do continue to execute their respective functions, and all the people of Egypt offer up their prayers for the destruction of the Beys.

The Bedouins alluded to by Louis received some presents from this General at their departure ; and the Cheriff Coraim, when he saw he was surrounded by thirty thousand Frenchmen and a formidable train of artillery, seemed disinclined to make resistance ; yet, when the Bedouins got away, they robbed every Frenchman they met with ; and, after the Cheriff had been honoured by Bonaparte with a tri-coloured scarf, he kept up a correspondence with some of his old friends, the Mamelukes, in the country, because they were the companions of his childhood, and he had no quarrel with them.

Bonaparte established himself at Alexandria, as he had done before at Malta ; and it will appear by the orders of the day, that his justice was precisely that of an arrogant tyrant.

In those orders, dated at Alexandria, he orders every person, except the Muftis, Imans, and Cheiks, to deposit their arms in a given place within twenty-four hours after ; that all the inhabitants shall wear the tri-coloured cockade, reserving to himself the right of distributing a tri-coloured shawl to the Cheiks who may distinguish themselves ; that the troops are to pay military honours

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*The Arabs harass the French Divisions.*

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to whoever wears a shawl, and that they shall be treated with all due respect. Foreign agents not to display their colours, and the Consul only have his name over his door.

Cherishing the idea of the people being only barbarians, Bonaparte treated them as too ignorant to exercise any of the reasoning faculties ; the next proclamation calls upon them for reliance on his honour and friendship, in the very paper which acknowledges him the ally of the Grand Seignior, whose territories he had thus wrested from him !

He states that the Beys who govern Egypt have long insulted the French nation, but that their hour is come ; that they have long tyrannised over the fairest part of the world, but that God has decreed their doom ; that he comes to restore the rights of the Egyptians, and punish usurpers, and that he reverences God, Mahomet, and the Koran ; he continues to rail against the Beys, who he says have destroyed all the good that was in Egypt, and concluded by denouncing destruction on all who take up arms in favour of the Mamelukes ; that they shall all perish.

It was necessary to march immediately against the Mamelukes, before they could arrange a system of attack or defence ; the General ordered Desaix to take two field pieces, and proceed without delay on the rout to Cairo ; that General, accordingly, on the 6th arrived at Demenhur, after being harassed by the Arabs. No one could stir from their columns ; Desaix was nearly taken prisoner not more than fifty paces in the rear ; and Le Meriar fell a sacrifice within one hundred paces of the advanced guard. Within a few yards of the troops, Delanau, an adjutant, was made prisoner ; and the Arabs settled a

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General Kleber appointed to command at Alexandria.

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quarrel amongst themselves about sharing the ransom, by blowing out his brains! The Mamelukes presented themselves in front of the army; these horsemen retired, and, certain of victory, ceased to harass a march, which, under a burning sun, gave nothing but hunger and thirst; the soldiers cried for bread, while the dazzling sunbeams, playing on a sandy soil, displayed such a resemblance to water, as to deceive, not only the stranger, but those who had before witnessed it.

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#### CHAPTER LIV.

BONAPARTE having appointed General Kleber Commandant at Alexandria, ordered the transport vessels to come into the port of that city, and land the horses, provisions, and other things for the use of the expedition. The utmost diligence was used as well by night as by day; the ships of war remained at anchor at some distance, which made the landing of the battering cannon a work of great difficulty.

Bonaparte agreed with Admiral Brueys, that the fleet should anchor at Aboukir, whence a communication should be kept up with Rosetta and Alexandria; he ordered the Admiral to cause the channel of the old port of Alexandria to be carefully sounded and examined, wishing that the squadron should, if possible, enter it; or, if it was impracticable, that the fleet should proceed to Corfu. Every thing required the debarkation to be

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The French Army leaves Alexandria.

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as speedily completed as possible ; the English might shew themselves, the squadron therefore must be freed from the incumbrance of the expedition. It was necessary to march against Cairo, to hinder the Mamelukes destroying or removing the magazines, and it was necessary to land the troops for this operation. Bonaparte inspected the town and fortifications ; he ordered new works, and took every step to ensure the tranquillity and defence of the city ; and so arranged every thing that the troops intended for the purpose were soon enabled to march.

Bonaparte had a small flotilla prepared to proceed up the Nile. This flotilla consisted of seven small sloops, three gun-boats, and a xebeck, and would have been a great assistance to the army, had the route of Rosetta been taken, in carrying the baggage and provisions of the troops, but the French had not yet taken Rosetta, and by that route Bonaparte would have retarded the progress to Cairo at least eight or ten days ; he therefore determined to advance though the Desert by Damanhour, and by this way General Desaix was ordered to proceed.

General Dugua had orders to proceed with the dismounted cavalry to the mouth of the Nile, to cover the entrance of the French flotilla into that river ; he was also instructed to take possession of Rosetta, to establish a Divan, erect a battery at Lisbé, and embark a quantity of rice in the flotilla ; after which he was to proceed towards Cairo, on the left bank of the Nile, to join the army near Rahmanieh, and the flotilla was to proceed up the river.

The main army left Alexandria early in July. The Arabs filled up all the wells at Beba and Birkit ; so that the soldiers, scorched by the heat of the sun, felt a parching thirst, which they could not assuage. The wells

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The Mameluke Army advances against them.

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were explored, but a little muddy water could only be obtained. Many skirmishes took place, in one of which general de brigade Mireur was mortally wounded.

When the army was on its march for Ramanieh, the paucity of the wells obliged some of the divisions to halt. The soldiers soon discovered the Nile : they plunged in, and drank plentifully of a water comparatively delicious. But, speedily the drums recalled them to their colours ; a corps of about eight hundred Mamelukes were seen approaching in order of battle ; the soldiers ran to their arms ; the enemy retired, and went towards Dammanhour, where they met the division of General Desaix : the discharge of cannon announced an action. Bonaparte marched against the Mamelukes, but the artillery of General Desaix, had made them retreat, leaving forty men killed or wounded ; ten of the infantry were slightly wounded. The troops being exhausted were greatly in want of repose ; and the horses, harassed by the voyage, required it still more. This induced Bonaparte to halt at Ramanieh the 11th and 12th, when he expected the flotilla, and the division under General Dugua.

This General took Rosetta without any obstacle, and joined the army at the expected period. As to the flotilla, he announced that it ascended the river with great difficulty, from the shallowness of the water ; however, it arrived on the 24th, and during that night the army set out for Miniet-el-Sayd, where it rested, and proceeded again on its march.

The Mamelukes, about 4000, were discovered at the distance of a league, their right covered by the village of Chebreisse, where they placed some pieces of cannon, and also by the Nile, on which was a flotilla of gun-boats and armed dgerms. Bonaparte ordered the French flo-



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The Mamelukes attack the French.

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lilla to dispose itself so as to act with the left of the army, and to engage the enemy's vessels, when the former should attack the Mamelukes and the village of Chebreisse. The violence of the wind deranged this plan ; the flotilla was driven nearly a league higher up, where it engaged at a great disadvantage, as it had, at the same time, to sustain the fire of the Mamelukes, the peasants, and the Arabs, and to defend itself against the enemy's flotilla.

Some of the peasants, led on by a party of Mamelukes, possessed themselves of one galley and a gun-boat. The commander, Perree, made a successful attack in his turn, and retook the galley and the gun-boat. His xebec, which dealt fire and death, destroyed several of the enemy's gun-boats ; he was powerfully supported in this unequal contest by the coolness of General Androssy, and Bourianne, secretary to Bonaparte, who were on board the xebec.

The noise of the artillery told Bonaparte that the flotilla was engaged ; he marched the army *au pas de charge*, and, approaching Chebreisse, he perceived the Mamelukes ranged in front of the village. He reconnoitred the position, and formed the army ; it consisted of five divisions, each division formed a square ; the artillery was at the angles, and in the centre the cavalry and baggage. The grenadiers of each square formed platoons which flanked the divisions, and were to reinforce the points of attack. The miners posted themselves in two villages in the rear, to secure places of retreat. The Mamelukes suddenly advanced in crowds, and wheeled about on the flanks and on the rear ; others fell on the right and front of the army. They were allowed to approach, when the artillery opened, and they were soon put to

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**The Mamelukes defeated with Loss.**

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flight. Some of the bravest rushed upon the platoons on the flanks ; these were received with firmness, and nearly the whole were killed by the fire of the small arms, or by the bayonet.

The army advanced against the village of Chebreisse, which the right wing was to attack. It was carried after a slight resistance ; the defeat of the Mamelukes was complete, they fled in disorder towards Cairo ; their flotilla got up the Nile with all possible expedition. The loss of the Mamelukes was more than 600 men, more killed than wounded ; that of the French was about 70, besides the loss on board the flotilla.

The commandant, Perree, in his account of the affair, says, " I cannot describe to you what we suffered in this expedition ; we were reduced for several days to subsist entirely on water-melons, during which we were constantly exposed to the fire of the Arabs, although, with the exception of a few killed and wounded, we always came off victorious. The Nile is very far from answering the description I had received of it : it winds incessantly, and is withal very shallow."

One circumstance that attended this skirmish none of the French writers mention, namely, that the Mamelukes accomplished their end by a temporary possession of the flotilla ; for, when the Republicans recovered their squadron, they found that they had nothing left but what was on their backs !

Bonaparte ordered the general of brigade Zayoncheck to proceed with about 500 dismounted cavalry along the right bank of the Nile, in a line parallel to the march of the army, which advanced on the left bank. The army was incessantly harassed on the march by the Arabs ; it could not advance farther than a cannon shot without

falling into an ambuscade. All communication beyond 300 toises from the rear of the army was cut off, and no intelligence could be forwarded to or received from Alexandria.

Neither men nor cattle were to be seen ; the soldiers lay upon heaps of corn, and subsisted only upon some lentils, and a kind of thin cakes, which they made themselves by bruising the corn. The army continued its march towards Cairo, and on the 19th of July General Zayoncheck united with the main army, where the Nile divides itself into two branches, those of Rosetta and Damietta.

On the 19th Murad Bey, at the head of 6000 Mamelukes and a host of Arabs and peasants, was entrenched at Embaba, waiting for the French ; and on the 22d Desaix, with the advanced guard, arrived within two miles of the spot. The heat was intense, and the soldiers excessively fatigued, which induced Bonaparte to halt. But the Mamelukes no sooner saw the army than they formed upon the plain ; an appearance so imposing never yet presented itself to the French ; the cavalry of the Mamelukes were covered with resplendent armour. Beyond their left were the celebrated Pyramids, which have survived so many empires, and braved for more than thirty centuries the outrages of time ! Behind their right was the Nile, the city of Cairo, the hills of Mokattam, and the fields of the ancient Memphis.

The army was soon ranged in order of battle ; Bonaparte ordered the line to advance, but the Mamelukes prevented this movement ; they made a feint against the centre, but rushed on the divisions of Desaix and Regnier, which formed the right : they charged their columns, which reserved their fire until the enemy advanced within half musket shot ; the Mamelukes in vain strove to

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They are defeated with great Loss.

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Break through those walls of fire; their ranks were thinned, a number of killed and wounded remained on the field, and they retired without venturing to return to the charge.

The divisions of Bon and Menou, supported by that of Kleber, then under the command of General Dugua, advanced against the entrenched village of Embaba. Two battalions were detached to turn the village, and to take advantage of a deep ditch that was in the way, to defend themselves from the enemy's cavalry, and conceal their movements towards the Nile. The divisions rapidly advanced. The Mamelukes attacked the platoons; they unmasked forty pieces of bad artillery; but the divisions rushed forward, so that the Mamelukes could not re-load their guns. The camp and the village of Embaba, were soon in the possession of the French. Fifteen hundred Mameluke cavalry, and as many peasants, whose retreat was cut off, occupied a position behind a ditch that communicated with the Nile, and performed prodigies of valour in their defence; they would not surrender, and they were all either put to the sword or drowned in the Nile. Forty pieces of cannon, 400 camels, the baggage, and the stores, fell into the hands of the victors.

Murad Bey attended only to his retreat: the divisions of Generals Desaix and Regnier had already forced his cavalry to fall back: the army pursued the Mamelukes; and the French, after marching and fighting nineteen hours, occupied a position at Gaza. Never was the superiority of disciplined courage over ill-directed valour more sensibly felt than on that day. The Mamelukes were mounted on superb Arabian horses, richly caparisoned, their armour was magnificent, and their purses well stocked with gold. These spoils compensated the

soldiers for the excessive fatigues they had suffered. During fifteen days their nourishment was a few vegetables without bread; the provisions found in the camp, therefore, afforded them a delicious repast.

The following morning the principal inhabitants of Cairo offered to deliver up the city to the French; they were accompanied by the Kiaja of the Pacha, Ibrahim Bey, who had left Cairo during the night, having carried off the Pacha with him. Bonaparte received them at Gaza; they asked protection for the city, and engaged for its submission; he answered, that the French wished to remain in friendship with the Egyptian people and the Ottoman Porte, and assured them that the customs and religion of the country should be scrupulously respected. They returned to Cairo with a detachment under the command of a French officer. The populace committed some excesses; the mansion of Murad Bey was pillaged and burned; but order was restored from the proclamations that were issued, and the appearance of an armed force.

Bonaparte removed his head-quarters to Cairo; the divisions of Generals Begnier and Menou were stationed at Old Cairo, those of Bon and Kleber at Boulac, a corps of observation was placed on the route of Syria, and the division of Desaix occupied an entrenched position about three leagues in front of Embaba, on the route to Upper Egypt.

## CHAPTER LV.

IN quiet possession of Cairo, Bonaparte sent his dispatches to Alexandria and to Paris. It was an object with him to transport the rarities of Egypt to the Museum at Paris, and he ordered the Mamelukes, whom he had taken prisoners, to be transported in his first collection of natural curiosities to France.

A letter was written to Admiral Brucey, accompanied by twelve Mamelukes, named, whom he wishes to be sent to France by the first opportunity. He tells the Admiral, that after almost incredible hardships he is at length quiet in Cairo ; desires him not to be uneasy about the subsistence of his men, as the country is rich in provisions almost beyond imagination ; he urges him to despatch the courier he sends in a frigate, to land wherever he thinks best ; and says, that he has despatched by the Nile a prodigious quantity of provisions, to pay for the freight of the transports.

He also writes to General Kleber, tells him there is a very excellent mint at Cairo, and desires him to get back all the ingots he had given to the merchants, in lieu of which he will give them wheat and rice, of which he has immense quantities ; he details part of their manoeuvres till they took possession of Cairo, where they are refreshing themselves after the hardships they had suffered ; he says the army is in the greatest want of its baggage, and

that he sends an officer who is to bring it up. He writes for the French and Arabic printing presses, and many articles besides, to be sent by sea to Rosetta, from whence there will be no difficulty in their passing up to Cairo. He desires General Kleber to, name a Divan and an Aga; and to cause an inventory to be taken of every thing which belonged to the Mamelukes; and concludes by ordering a general levy of horses to remount the cavalry. He then writes the orders he had issued relative to the organization of Egypt; that in each province of Egypt there shall be a Divan of seven persons, who shall watch over the interests of the place under their jurisdiction, and call in the French commander to assist them when necessary; that there shall be in each province an Aga of the Janissaries, with a company of armed natives to keep good order, and likewise an intendant, charged with the collection of all the revenues which belonged to the Mamelukes, now to the Republic; and that a French agent shall always be with the intendant to correspond, and learn the system of administration.

The ingots alluded to were plunder taken at Malta, which had been left with General Kleber at Alexandria, to pay the transports to serve in the expedition. The plunder now found was of less value to the General, and he chose to pay for those services in kind instead of in money. If there is any credit in the assertion in the letter to General Kleber, that Cairo had a good mint, but little money, it is utterly incompatible with his despatches to the Directory, in which he says, "that the Mamelukes shewed great bravery; they defended their fortunes, for there was not one of them on whom our soldiers did not find three, four, or five hundred Louis!"

The manner in which the General writes for a supply

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Letter of Captain Gay to his Parents.

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of necessary articles is a strong proof that the baggage was taken by the Mamelukes from on board the flotilla; but, if there is any doubt upon that subject, it can hardly survive the complaints contained in the letters which were taken.

Among the intercepted letters was one from a Captain Gay to his parents, complaining of the hardships the army suffered since their arrival in Egypt; he states that he was unable to write since his embarkation, from the difficulty attending the couriers; that their campaign opened with the taking of Malta, whence they pursued their route to Egypt. They disembarked at Alexandria, where they lost a number of brave men; that the army marched to Cairo, where they arrived after suffering every thing possible to suffer; that they were seventeen days without bread, wine, or brandy, and five without water, and the enemy close at their heels, who used the utmost cruelty on all who fell into their hands. For seventeen days, he says, they had no subsistence but water-melons, and many died of thirst and hunger; that discontent prevailed throughout; many flung themselves into the Nile, and several blew out their brains. All this time they were obliged to march in close order, the enemy's cavalry taking advantage of every confusion to fall on them with much effect; and in all this confusion they had many battles to fight.

Arrived near Cairo, they found the Mamelukes waiting them in an entrenched camp; they were defeated, and three thousand perished either by the fire of the French, or in the river; for they made not a single prisoner. He regrets his being unable to retire from a service wherein he has constantly suffered, and is ever risk-



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The Cheriff Coraim sent Prisoner on board the l'Orient.

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ing his life ; and wishes to pass the remainder of his life in peace.

To this proof of the bad state of the army others much stronger might be found in the intercepted correspondence, but in this are the sentiments of an officer, who had long served in the French army, and never shrunk from his duties.

General Kleber was occupied in procuring supplies, and providing for the sick ; both duties were attended with much difficulty, as water was obliged to be supplied from Rosetta. The commissary of the marine, and those employed in the victualling service, complain of the pains and trouble it cost to do the most trifling thing, Kleber laid these obstacles to the hostility of the new Divan ; and, in a fit of ill-humour, he caused the old Cheriff, Coraim, to be sent a prisoner on board the l'Orient ; but the Commissary, in a letter to Admiral Brucey, declares, that it was owing to not finding schermas (lighters) enough at Rosetta to convey water and provisions to supply the fleet ; until the 29th of July only five of those vessels could be had, and the demand of the fleet could not be supplied until more could be procured from Damietta.

Without water the Admiral could do little else than labour to procure it ; yet he did not neglect the best means for providing for the security of his fleet.

In a letter to Bruix, the Minister of the Marine, he says, he disembarked all the troops and baggage, and that being satisfied the ships of war could not get into the port, he had anchored his fleet in a line of battle in the bay of Baquiers ; that the troops entered Rosetta, and the army was marching rapidly to the conquest of Egypt ;

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Admiral Nelson joined by Captain Trowbridge.

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he regrets much that he cannot get the ships into the harbour of Alexandria; that he has offered 10,000 livres to any pilot who will take the squadron in, but they all declined it; he has engaged two intelligent officers to sound the entrance, and see if by any means they may succeed in getting in; he adds, they have heard nothing of the English fleet, but he thinks they have not so many as fourteen sail of the line, and that they do not therefore wish to try strength with them; he looks with great anxiety to the time when the conquest of Egypt shall furnish them with provisions, as they are obliged to supply the troops; that he has only fifteen days biscuit on board, and consuming every thing, and replacing nothing; that the crews are weak, the rigging out of repair, and the fleet in want of many things.

Nothing could be more erroneous than the idea suggested by the French Admiral, relative to the disposition of the English. That he had reached the place of his destination, landed an army on a distant shore, and rode thirty long days in an open bay, was owing to no forbearance of the British navy, nor any disinclination to hazard a rencountre; but to a want of intelligence, which left the English Admiral to hunt after his enemy before he could find him.

Rear-Admiral Nelson was in the Mediterranean, commanding a flying squadron, with his flag on board the Vanguard, but he was by no means equal to a contest with the powerful armament under Admiral Brueys; he was reinforced, however, by Captain Trowbridge, with ten sail of the line, directly that the French expedition was known not to have gone for Ireland. Sir Horatio Nelson preceded, therefore, in search of the enemy, with

thirteen seventy-four line of battle ships, and one fifty gun ship.

Having gone towards Naples for information, he directed his course towards Sicily ; he heard of the surrender of Malta, and immediately took on board expert pilots, and was the first commander who ever passed the Straits of Messina with a fleet of men of war.

He learned, that after staying only a week, the French had left Malta ; he steered for Candia, and being assured that they were destined for Egypt, he sailed thither, and arrived at the mouth of the Nile three days before Bonaparte. He supposed his information to be false, he repaired to Rhodes, and actually passed Bonaparte's fleet in the fog, as they were lying to for the convoy. He returned to Sicily, and in the bay of Syracuse procured supplies, of which his squadron stood in need.

The English Admiral again went in search of the French expedition, and being informed that it had arrived in Egypt some time before, he again steered for Alexandria, and, as he approached the coast, saw the object of his desire. He discovered thirteen line of battle ships laying at anchor, with one 48 gun, one 44 gun, and two 36 gun frigates. One ship, l'Orient, with the flag of Admiral Brueys, carried 120 guns, three others carried 80 guns each, and each of the remaining nine ships carried 74 guns.

The position occupied by the French was in the very place where the famous combat between Augustus Cæsar and Marc Anthony, nineteen hundred years since, decided the empire of the world. History will again record a matter almost as important—a naval battle between the fleets of two of the most powerful states of the civilized world, as

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He attacks and defeats them.

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which depended their maritime superiority, the renewal of a bloody war on the European Continent, and the eventual conquest of Egypt by the forces of the power by whom it was invaded.

Admiral Nelson, on viewing the position of the French, decided on an evolution never before hazarded by any commander, and which was only, perhaps, justified by his certainty of the coolness of the veteran officers of his fleet, and of the undaunted courage of his sailors, habituated to victory. The French fleet was drawn up on the margin of deep water in the Bay of Aboukir, and moored as close as possible to the shoals; he supposed that a channel was left between the ships and the shore; and that wherever the French could swing the English could float.

The sun was declining, and as darkness would prevent the possibility of carrying the experiment into effect, he determined on an instantaneous attack, by piercing the line, and to capture or destroy the whole squadron.

His account of this victory is remarkable for its conciseness and modesty; but as this threatened to be by far the most adverse event that had occurred in the life of our hero, we shall give the particulars of it as they are stated by his intimate friend, Admiral Ganteaume.

He writes to the Minister, that it is with the most heartfelt sorrow he is obliged to give him an account of the most fatal of disasters—that eleven sail of the line, taken, burnt, and lost, and the coast laid open to the enemy are the dreadful results of the engagement. He says, that notwithstanding the hasty assembling of their crews, they arrived safe and well at Egypt—that on the 31st of July the whole of the British fleet hove in sight, and bore down with intent to attack them. He then states

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Admiral Ganteaume's Despatch concerning the Battle of Aboukir.

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the accidents which occurred to the French fleet, and that the destruction was complete—that he himself escaped from the *l'Orient*, which was on fire, by getting into a boat, which was under her counter. He then states the ships taken, those set on fire, and those destroyed by getting aground—one of them, the *Timoleon*, by her own Captain, to save her from the British—that the sole remains of this great armament are the few vessels that remain at Alexandria, and a division with General Villeneuve, who escaped, of two ships of the line and two frigates. He then gives the names of some of the officers killed ; but cannot give an exact list of the total loss for want of returns from the officers ; nor that of the English, which he says was great, from the care with which they conceal it. He feelingly regrets the misfortune they have experienced, and thinks that after so dreadful a disaster, nothing but a peace can settle the establishment of their new colony.

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CHAPTER LVI.

ADMIRAL Ganteaume's despatch concerning the battle of Aboukir, points the feeling of the officers of the French fleet upon the event ; and although he regrets the French Admiral's having chosen the position wherein he awaited the English fleet, yet it was probably the best situation

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Abstract of the Battle of Aboukir.

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for the security of his own. Nothing could have deterred the English commander from engaging the enemy. Nelson considered it his duty to find out the French fleet and to beat it ; it was not a probability of success that he calculated upon ; he had promised himself a victory, and did not reckon on the chance of a defeat. Like Bonaparte, when he determined, he employed every means to effect it ; like Bonaparte, his means were arranged with precision, and directed by his own energy and intrepidity. What in others would have been rashness to attempt, he achieved ; and thus secured a most important victory for his country, and enrolled his own fame on the records of immortality.

The abstract of the battle forms another important document of this memorable naval victory.

This abstract details the particulars from the first appearance of the English fleet. Signals were thrown out to recal all the men on shore, and making ready for action ; and the frigates and smaller vessels were ordered to send as many men as possible on board the ships of the line. He states, that at near six o'clock the British vessels had turned the head of their line, and anchored between them and the land, some moored within pistol shot, so that most of our ships were between two fires. The attack and defence were, he says, desperate ; that the whole of their van was often raked, and the smoke so thick that with difficulty they could distinguish the different movements—that in about an hour after the action had commenced, the Admiral was wounded twice, and soon after killed on the quarter deck—that while they were briskly firing from the lower deck guns, they found the quarter deck on fire, which spread so rapidly, that all was soon in flames—their pumps and buckets were

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Tallien writes to the Directory.

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destroyed—that the flames increased, and made an alarming progress ; that they had lost their main and mizen masts, and the fire rapidly spread ; both Captains were wounded, but the scuttles were ordered to be opened, and every one to quit the ship. At half past ten the ship blew up. At day break several ships were discovered in possession of the enemy—two which ran aground were attacked and obliged to strike ; four set their sails and stood out to sea ; the *Timoleon* ran ashore and was set fire to by her crew, to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands—he details the accounts, he says, from memory, not being able to preserve a memorandum of any description.

During this time Tallien, of whom we have formerly written, was at Rosetta, and in a letter to Barras the Director, he says, “ Consternation has overwhelmed us all. I set out to-morrow for Cairo, to carry the news to Bonaparte. It will shock him the more, as he had no idea of its happening. He will find resources in himself to prevent the disaster being fatal to the army which he commands.”

The effects of this disaster were soothed by the quick successes that attended the forces under the command of Bonaparte. When the French entered Cairo the Mamelukes were divided into two armies, one commanded by Murad Bey, which took the route of Upper Egypt ; the other, under Ibrahim Bey, proceeded towards Syria. The power of the Egyptian government had been divided between these Beys ; Murad Bey was at the head of the military department, while Ibrahim presided in civil affairs.

Desaix formed an entrenched camp beyond Giza, on the left bank of the Nile ; his advanced posts and those of Murad Bey were very near each other. Ibrahim Bey retired to Balbeis, and waited for the caravan from Mecca, to be reinforced by the corps of Mamelukes that

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*General Le Clerc defeats a Body of Mamelukes.*

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escorted it, to execute a plan of hostile operations in conjunction with Murad Bey and the Arabs. From this arrangement, whatever credit may be due to the charges brought by the French against the Beys for mis-rule, they did not want talents. Ibrahim used every exertion to induce the Fellahs of the Delta, to take arms, and to incite the inhabitants of Cairo, to revolt; Bonaparte therefore felt it necessary to organize a provisional government, and regulate every branch of the public service; he also wished, by putting his forces in entrenched positions, to secure the French from any surprise, either of the Mamelukes or the inhabitants.

As the neighbourhood of Ibrahim Bey was very dangerous, General Le Clerc was despatched from Cairo on the 2d of August, with 300 cavalry, three companies of grenadiers, and a battalion, with two pieces of light artillery, to take a position at Elhanka, and observe his motions. The General was attacked by a body of 4000 Mamelukes and Arabs, which a few discharges of artillery soon forced to retire. Bonaparte considered Ibrahim of so much consequence that he marched against him in person, but could not overtake him till he was joined by the caravan, and increased his army from the Mamelukes, its escort. The French came up with the army of the Bey, but could not prevent him reaching the Desert with all his baggage and forces. Bonaparte now took measures to fortify Salehieh and Belbeis. General Dugua was ordered to Damietta, and to subdue the Delta. General Regnier's division was posted at Salehieh, to secure the submission of the province of Cherkie, and Bonaparte took the rest of the troops to Cairo. On his return from this expedition he received intelligence of the naval action of Aboukir. He managed very adroitly to collect the scattered hopes of his



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Bonaparte's Despatch to the Directory.

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followers, by the turn he gave to it in public, and which his despatch to the Directory will elucidate.

He states that he wrote to the Admiral to enter the port of Alexandria, and if not practicable, to land the artillery and stores and return to Corfu, and that he left Alexandria satisfied that one step or the other would have been taken—that for a long time he had no intelligence from that quarter, a multitude of Arabs being constantly close to his camp—that at length the communication was opened, and he heard from the Admiral with astonishment that he was still at Aboukir; this alarmed him, but on the 29th he wrote that he had heard of the victory of the Pyramids and the taking of Cairo, and that he had found a passage to enter the port of Alexandria—that he wrote that letter on the 1st of August, the day the English fleet attacked him—that when he perceived them he sent an officer to acquaint Bonaparte with his plans, but that officer perished on the road.

The destinies, he says, wished to prove on this as on many other occasions, that if they gave the ascendancy on land to the French, they gave the empire of the seas to the English; but that fortune had not forsaken them—that he landed at Alexandria and attacked it with 3000 harrassed men without cannon, and in five days was established in Egypt—and he concludes by observing, that when fortune saw her favours were no longer useful she abandoned the fleet to its fate.

The illiberality of blaming the gallant Bruceys after his death, is as unjust as it was ungenerous, if the statement of the Admiral be true, that he detained the fleet to gratify the wishes of the Commander in Chief. It was perhaps to atone for this that Bonaparte wrote a letter of kindness and condolence to Madam Bruceys.

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The Meeting at the Pyramids.

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Whatever was the design of the general in going to Egypt, its real tendency was to lead to a new opinion of his own character: he had as yet been looked on as an able warrior, and the vices of the conqueror were obscured by the valour of the soldier; but he now got himself in a snare, whence he could only escape by the arts of a cunning knave. The reflections cast upon Brueys placed him thus to the people of Europe, and his conduct in Egypt made much the same impression upon his army there.

Attended by his staff, and the Members of the National Institute, with a powerful guard, and conducted by several Muftis and Imans, the General proceeded to the pyramids, where, after hastily surveying the five inferior ones, his attention was directed to that called "Cheops."

After examining the different apartments, he seated himself in a flattened vault, on a chest of granite, eight feet long and four feet deep, amongst his attendants, and invited the Muftis, Imans, &c. to be also seated, when he commenced a conversation with Sulaman, Ibrahim, and Muhamed, the chief Muftis.

In this interview he endeavours to impress the Muftis with an idea of the faith he places in Mahomet, and his veneration for the Koran, and that he hopes to honour the prophet's tomb in his holy city; but that he must first exterminate the Mamelukes, that God has ordained their destruction, and that the angels of death have breathed upon them. After much conversation with the Muftis, in which he seems to yield to their religion, he tells them to instruct the people of Egypt, to destroy the Beys and Mamelukes, and favour the commerce of the Franks in their country, to let them have footing; but to

## Head Quarters at Cairo.

drive far away the islanders of Albion, accursed among the children of Issa (Christ) that the friendship and treasures of the Franos shall be theirs, till they ascend to the seventh heaven, and are seated by the black-eyed hours, endowed with perpetual youth and virginity.

In this conversation it is difficult to discover any thing more than a contest between cunning and craft; his intention was to outwit the priests, but in this attempt he failed.

## CHAPTER LVII.

BONAPARTE having fixed his head quarters at Cairo, Desaix was ordered to complete the conquest of Upper Egypt, where Murad had taken refuge after the battle of the Pyramids. He struck his camp before Cairo, and set out, together with a flotilla, which was to convoy his march.

Learning that some barks, with articles for the Mamelukes, were at Reshuasch, Desaix marched to surprise them; and, after crossing eight canals, and the lake Baten, with the water up to their armpits, came up with the convoy at Benaseh, and made it a prize. Desaix rejoined his division at Abu-jairjeh, marched to Tarutel-shereef, where he took his position at the Capal of Joseph, to ensure a communication with Cairo. Arrived at Siut, he endeavoured to overtake the Mamelukes at Beneady, whither they had retired, with their women and baggage: but they having joined Murad Bey in

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**Murad Bey harasses the French.**

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Faium, Desaix returned to Siut, to redescend to Tarut-el-shereef, where he embarked his troops on the Canal of Joseph. Arrived off Mansura, he met Murad Bey, who kept up such a well-directed fire upon the French on their landing, that Desaix ordered them to return on board, intending to fall down to Minkia. The Mamelukes, having harrassed the barks, some companies of grenadiers dispersed them : the debarkation being effected the troops resumed the road to the Desert, accompanied by the barks as far as Manura ; Murad Bey was at four miles distance ; while his rear guard harrassed the French he gained the heights, and they saw his army open with all the magnificence of the east. They discovered his person, surrounded by all the Beys and Kiaschefs under his command. The French marched forward ; and the cavalry they had to oppose turned and fled to Elalamon. In following the French left their barks ; they were obliged to return for biscuit : Murad thought they had fled ; he attacked them, and actually carried away two prisoners from the points of the bayonets, and next delivered the French from their valour. On regaining the barks the French loaded with biscuit, and, after taking some repose, recommenced their march.

Murad Bey had got a stranger to arrive in his army, with news that the English had destroyed the French at Alexandria ; that the people of Cairo had massacred those who were in that city ; and that there remained in Egypt only the few soldiers whom they had put to flight the evening before, and whom they should presently destroy ; a festival was given, and a sham battle, where the French were represented by Arabs, who were ordered to suffer themselves to be beaten. The feast concluded

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Action between the Mamelukes and French.

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with the murder of the two prisoners who had been taken two days before.

Desaix resolved to attack when he had left the open and cultivated country. The night the Mamelukes passed in carousals. At day-break they formed a hollow square, flanked by two lesser bodies : soon after, the French saw Murad with his Mamelukes, and eight or ten thousand Arabs. A valley was between the two armies, which must be passed before the French could attack. No sooner did Murad see them in the disadvantageous position before he surrounded them, charging them with a degree of fury. The closeness of the French rendered his numbers of no advantage to him ; their musketry repulsed him for the time. The Mamelukes stopped, wheeled, as if to fly, and suddenly fell one of the squadrons, which they levelled ; all who were not killed fell down : this uncovered the Mamelukes to the center of the French, who instantly gave a heavy fire : Murad stopped and wheeled once more ; those of the squadron not killed came into the ranks. The French were again attacked with the cries of rage ; much valour was shown on both sides ; the barrels of the French muskets were hacked by the sabres of the Mamelukes : their horses fell back at the sight of the bayonets ; their riders turned them, hoping to force their ranks by their kicks : the French pressed together without disorder, carnage was every where, but there was no battle : the Mamelukes were wild with fury ; they threw their arms at the French ; and the troops were assailed with firelocks, pistols, battle-axes, and showers of sabres. Those who were dismounted crept under the bayonets, endeavouring to cut the soldier's legs ; the dying collected their strength

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The French Army suffers from Ophthalmia.

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and still struggled with the dying, and their blood, which mingled while it drank the dust, did not appease their animosity.

Murad had committed great slaughter among the French ; in falling back he did not fly, and the situation of the French was not improved : scarcely had he retreated when he opened a battery hitherto concealed, which at each discharge carried off six or eight soldiers. The French were lost in consternation ; the number of the wounded increased every instant : to march was to abandon the wounded, and to abandon them was to give them up to certain death. Desaix remained motionless a moment : at length, says a French philosopher, " the voice of necessity drowned that of the unfortunate wounded, and the army began its march." Murad threatened his retreat : his only choice was now between victory and absolute destruction : the army, as one individual, determined to force the battery : the light artillery did prodigies ; and while they dismounted some of the guns of the Mamelukes, the grenadiers came up ; the battery was abandoned, the cavalry, panic-struck, wheeled, fled, and left the French no enemy to oppose.

Never was a battle more terrible, or a victory more brilliant. The advantage gained by the battle of Sediman was detaching the Arabs from the Mamelukes. Murad Bey, no longer hoping to resist the French army, reduced them to follow a light and rapid enemy, who left it neither repose nor security.

The army was now afflicted with ophthalmia, arising from long marches and great fatigues, in a climate where the humidity of the air repels perspiration, so as to produce a flux, that attacks either the eyes or the bowels.

Desaix thought himself able to dispute with Murad

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Fertility of Upper Egypt.

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Bey the territorial tax, of the rich province of Bennesuef, when he returned to Cairo, to provide himself with the means of again taking the field.

When the French entered Upper Egypt the villages were so numerous, that M. De Non counted twenty-four by which he was encompassed ; so planted with spreading trees that they seemed like pictures which travellers have given of the habitations in the islands of the Pacific Sea ; abundance and riches were every where to be seen.

At Djirjieh, the capital, the French found provisions at very low prices ; bread one sous the pound, twelve eggs for two sous, two pigeons three sous, a goose of five pounds weight twelve sous : and this the result of great abundance ; for, after a stay of three weeks, when five thousand persons had increased the consumption and the money in circulation, the price of every article remained the same. These were the people called upon by Bonaparte to believe that he had hazarded every thing purely to increase their happiness, and deliver them from oppressors ! and posterity will not wonder that these Egyptians could not understand the advantages they were to gain by paying the miri to the bayonet instead of the sabre.

Ibrahim Bey had retired, with about 1000 Mamelukes and his treasures to Gaza, where, from Dgezzar, Pacha of Acre, he had the most favourable reception ; the Pacha not only protected the Mamelukes, but also threatened the frontiers of Egypt ; Bonaparte despatched a letter to Dgezzar, assuring him that the French wished to preserve the friendship of the Grand Seignior, and live in peace with him ; but insisted that Dgezzar, should remove Ibrahim Bey and his Mamelukes, and afford him no support. The Pacha made no answer, but, in great

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*The French establish different Works at Cairo.*

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anger, commanded the officer to return, and ordered all the French at Acre to be put in irons.

No intelligence arrived from Europe since the action at Aboukir, as the ports of Egypt were closely blocked up by the English. Bonaparte had no official account of the issue of the negotiation which the Directory meant to open with the Ottoman Porte, relative to the expedition to Egypt; but all the accounts received overland announced that the English had formed an alliance between England, Russia, and the Porte, against the Republic. Bonaparte, judging that operations would take place against Egypt on the side of Syria, and by sea, he immediately resolved to march into Syria, and return to Egypt time enough to oppose the expected invasion by sea, which was not likely to take place till about the end of the following June. Such was the plan which Bonaparte resolved upon, and which he proceeded to execute, after arranging a novel system of government for Egypt, and establishing new imposts more productive to the French treasury. At Cairo he settled a commercial company, to facilitate the exchange and circulation of all kinds of commodities. An institute was founded, to which a library was attached, and a chemical laboratory constructed. A workshop was opened for all the mechanic arts; the making of bread, and of various fermented liquors was brought to a degree of perfection; saltpetre was refined, and several hydraulic machines constructed; whilst scientific and literary men proceeded into the interior of Egypt, where they made many interesting observations and important discoveries, with reference to geography, history, and natural philosophy.

General Andreossy was to reduce the country surrounding the Lake Menzale, the Pelusian Mouths, and



to take a survey of all these points, as well both in a scientific and a military point of view. The General sounded the roads of Damietta, of Bougasie, and of those near Bougan and the mouth of the Nile, to determine the passes of the Boghaz, and the form of the bar.

General Andreossi afterwards surveyed the Lakes of Natron, in a valley upwards of two leagues broad; these lakes extend about six leagues. The General went into a large valley, called the river San-sean (without water); enoumbered with sand; its surface about three leagues in diameter; he found numbers of large trees entirely petrified; in the valley of the lakes were found several springs of very good water. The Natron is of a very good quality, and would form a valuable branch of commerce.

All the men of science who accompanied Bonaparte were now employed in different pursuits which tallied with their knowledge; the latitudes of the principal places were ascertained; plans taken, and surveys executed; naturalists examined the animals and fish of the country; plants and minerals were attended to, and monuments of antiquity sought after and inquired into. A collection of insects of Syria and the Desert was made; and windmills and machines, till then unknown in Egypt, were constructed. An almanack and a newspaper were printed, and every person exerted himself in forming establishments, or making new discoveries.

While the preparations were making for the expedition to Syria, Bonaparte assisted the *savans* in their occupations, and regularly attended the Institute, where each member stated his proceedings. He had settled to visit the isthmus of Suez in person, and to satisfy all doubts relative to the canal, which he looked on as one of the

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Insurrection of the Inhabitants of Cairo.

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most important problems in history ; he had prepared for this journey when a calamitous event made him postpone it.

Tranquillity had hitherto reigned in the city of Cairo ; delegates from the provinces deliberated with calmness on the propositions made by the French commissioners, respecting the organization of the Divans, the civil and criminal code, the establishment and distribution of imposts, and on the various objects of administrations and general police. Suddenly the French thought they saw symptoms of an insurrection : on the 21st of October, at day-break, the inhabitants were assembling in different parts, but particularly near the great mosque ; but for what cause the jealousy of the conquerors would not suffer them to inquire. General Depuis, the commandant, advanced, with a small force, to disperse them, but he was resisted, and, with several officers and some dragoons, killed, by a party of the people. The insurrection immediately became real ; all the French who fell in with the insurgents were massacred, and a number of Arabs appeared in force at the gates of the city. The *generule* was beat, the French flew to arms, and marched, having pieces of artillery with them, against the insurgents ; the latter repaired to the different mosques, from whence they directed a galling fire against the soldiers : the mosques were forced, and a terrible combat ensued, in which the French appeared to be actuated by feelings of desperation and revenge. Cannon, placed on eminences, and those of the citadel, were fired on the town, and the great mosque, and other stations of the insurgents, were set on fire. The animosity of the French was levelled against the hoary-headed Coraim, formerly sent on board the *L'Orient*. Admiral Brueys had put him on shore

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The Cheriff Coraim torn to pieces.

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before the battle. The old man was found at Rosetta, and Menou ordered him to be sent to Bonaparte at Cairo, where he fell into the hands of the heroes of the Po and the Pyramids, who tore him to pieces, and paraded his head about the streets upon a pole, *à la mode-à-Paris!* After hundreds of innocent people had been massacred, Bonaparte issued a general pardon, and on the 23rd of October, order was entirely restored; but measures were taken that impressed the country with the terror of his arms.

Having despatched General Bon with two pieces of cannon to attack Suez, Bonaparte, with some of his *etat-major*, some members of the Institute, and escorted by a corps of cavalry, on the 26th of December arrived at that post, General Bon having got possession without difficulty. The next day was spent in viewing the town and coast, and ordering such works as Bonaparte deemed necessary. On the 28th of December he passed the Red Sea at a ford near Suez, and returned the same evening to Suez, but it being high water he was obliged to ascend to the extremity of the Red Sea; this route was rendered the more tedious in consequence of the guide having lost his way in the marshes, from which they extricated themselves with difficulty, being at one time up to the middle in water. The magazines at Suez clearly shewed it had once been the *entrepôt* of a considerable commerce; but at present only vessels of small draught can enter the port; at the end of a sandbank, which runs a league into the sea, frigates may anchor: this bank is dry at low water, and would admit of the erection of a battery, to protect the anchorage and defend the road.

Bonaparte encouraged commerce, and superseded the old rates and duties by others less severe; he took mea-

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Bonaparte traces the Canal of Suez.

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asures for the safe carriage of goods from Suez to Cairo and Belbeis, and made such dispositions as were likely to restore Suez to its ancient splendour. During his stay four ships arrived there from Jedda, and the Arabs of Tor came to solicit the friendship of the French. Bonaparte quitted Suez on the 30th December, and went in a northerly direction. About two leagues and a half he found some vestiges of the entrance of the Canal of Suez, which he followed nearly four leagues; the same night he rested at the fort of Adgeroud; on the 1st of January, 1799, he arrived at Belbeis; and on the 3d advanced to Mount Horeb, where he thought he discovered some more remains of the Canal of Suez; this was near its entrance into the fruitful lands of Egypt. He traced its course for several leagues, and persuaded, by this second discovery, he ordered an engineer to repair to Suez, and, with a sufficient escort, to take a geometrical level of the course of the canal, this would finally resolve the problem of its existence.

Bonaparte learned that Dgezzar had taken the fort of El Arish, which defended the frontiers of Egypt; this fortress was occupied by the advanced guard of the Pacha. Confident of being attacked, no alternative remained to Bonaparte than an anticipation of hostilities. He quitted Suez immediately, but before his coming to Cairo, he proceeded to Salehieh, where were cantoned the troops to form the advanced guard of the expedition to Syria; these he ordered to march without delay; he then went to Cairo; where he exerted the greatest celerity in the preparations, and in collecting the main body of the army, for the expedition to Syria.

## CHAPTER LVIII.

HAVING exiled himself from the theatre of his glory, we must return to Europe, and see what effect was produced by the absence of that Hero, to whose talents alone both his friends and enemies seemed to ascribe all the successes of the French arms.

It will be remembered, that having made peace with the Emperor of Germany, Bonaparte had left France negotiating a treaty with the Princes of the Empire at Rastadt; and when the congress opened, the power of the Republic appeared so consolidated, that no doubt could be entertained but that the empire would accept of peace upon almost any terms; but the departure of Bonaparte with his army inspirited the allied courts, and the deliberations were delayed to take advantage of events. The hungry policy of the Directory gave the enemies of France a pretence for gaining all the time they desired. It has been settled the fortresses of Kehl and Cassel should be given to the Imperial troops, and Ehrenbreitstein handed over to a French garrison.

Not the smallest succour was conveyed into Ehrenbreitstein, but the French refused to allow the Austrians to take possession of the other fortresses. The members of the congress were encouraged to hope that England would find resources for a new confederacy if the negotiation should fail, and the supplying Ehrenbreitstein was made the only point of discussion. Matters stood thus, when news

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 Troubles in St. Domingo.
 

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arrived that the French fleet had been destroyed by Admiral Nelson, and the hopes of marching to Paris revived in the bosoms of all the conquered sovereigns. Intelligence of that event reached St. Petersburg, over land, almost as soon as it reached London; and the Emperor Paul showed a disposition to act against the Republic more than the Empress Catharine, whom he had lately succeeded. Rumours were circulated that Great Britain was to subsidise Russia, and that France would be attacked by the barbarous tribes of the North; but though the French Government retained its pride and violence, it had lost all its energy. The Directory saw the storm gathering, but the cupidity of its members had so disgusted the country with their government that they decided to acquaint the people with their danger.

The naval triumphs of the English had annihilated the commerce of France; and the merchants saw with chagrin the productions of their own country depreciated for want of buyers, whilst those of their rivals increased so much in value that the English merchants grew rich as rapidly as they went to ruin. These grievances were increased by the rapacity of the ministers and officers of the Directory, who, uncertain as to the duration of their power, seemed determined to make the most of their places while they held them.

St. Domingo, the principal scene of the sanguinary contest that took place from the dissolution of slavery, had been taken possession of by the British at a waste of money and lives; and the inhabitants were not inclined to return under the French government; but it appeared that the restoration of the island was insisted on by France, and no resistance on the part of the British ministry, which shewed an intention of retaining it as a

Neutrals take Charge of Enemy's Vessels.

part of the British empire; and the colonists did not wish to preserve their loyalty for a government likely to turn them away to those who would punish them in proportion to the length of time they exercised it. The people of Colour and Negroes were joined by the French Royalists, and harassed the British forces under General Maitland so much, that he was obliged to act upon the defensive, and at last to enter into a treaty for the evacuation of the place with Toussaint Louverture, a black of extraordinary talents, who had arrived at the rank of general and commander in chief, in a place where he had formerly been a slave!

The concessions of the British ministry operated more in favour of French commerce and French interests, than any effort of that country could have done. The Americans and other neutral nations opened a trade for false papers, so that they strove to cover all French property as their own, and thus insure the trade between France and her colonies, in defiance of an expensive navy maintained by the British people, and pretended to be kept up to weaken their enemy by destroying his commerce.

Men in the neutral states, known by the English cruizers to be worth scarce any thing, suddenly became possessed of ten or twelve ships and cargoes of goods sailing from the enemy's ports, as their own purchases. When these ships were taken, if through carelessness the chain owners had not procured the false papers necessary to blind an English judge, they were condemned; but eleven out of twelve of them were restored to their fraudulent owners, although detection in one single instance proved that he was a hired perjurer in the service of our enemies.

Such hope was now held by ministers of gaining that

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*General Bernadotte's Conduct at Vienna.*

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objects by a new war upon the Continent, that they diverted their means from their own element, and directed them afresh to a military crusade. An event happened at Vienna which threatened to add its share towards embroiling Austria and France anew. General Bernadotte, the French ambassador at Vienna, on taking up his residence there, hung an immense flag from the window of his hotel, which excited the notice of the passengers, and a crowd collected before his door. This insult the Ambassador could not submit to. The crowd wondered what the flag meant, and continued to stare; the French servants came to drive them away; they resisted; the General charged the court of Vienna with a conspiracy to insult him, demanded his passports, and returned home, to persuade his countrymen that they must revenge the injury by a declaration of war. The Directory opened a negotiation with Austria, which was not likely to arrive at any conclusion. This, like the one at Rastadt, was interrupted by the certainty that an army of Russians was on its march, and would attempt to reach the French frontier through the Austrian states. The Austrians took possession of the Grisons without any advice to Switzerland of its intention; and the King of Naples advanced towards the north, with an army provided with every requisite for the field. It was impossible for the Directory to retain its apathy any longer, and every branch of the war department was put into the greatest activity.

The Neapolitan troops assembled on the frontiers of the Roman state, which the Directory had declared a republic: this circumstance was turned into an attack on an ally of France, and the offence of Naples was aggravated by the fleet under Admiral Nelson having met with



General Mack demands the Evacuation of the Roman States.

friendly treatment, whilst Mangouvit, the Secretary of the French Legation, had been refused, and the ambassador, Lacombe St. Michel, treated with contempt. General Mack stated that Rome was to be protected by his army, by the express command of the government of Naples, and ordered General Championnet to evacuate the territory, which Championnet declared to be a violation of the rights of nations; and assured him that he should be responsible for events which would be injurious to the cause of humanity.

General Mack, answered, that the Neapolitan troops had passed the frontier the day before, with the king at their head, to take possession of the Roman territory, which had been revolutionized and usurped since the treaty of Campo Formio, and not acknowledged by his Sicilian Majesty, or his ally the Emperor of Germany. He concluded with a demand to evacuate the Roman Republic, without violating Tuscany, and that a refusal would be considered as a declaration of war, his Sicilian Majesty being able to enforce the demands addressed to him in his name. So great was the negligence of the Directory, that the French army did not exceed 10,000 men when not less than 76,000 troops entered the frontiers! The magazines were empty; there were no arms, artillery, or place of provisions; and at Civita Vecchia, it is said, there was not sufficient powder to fire at a Barbary corsair, which menaced the port!

When France received intelligence of the entry of the Neapolitan troops, it declared war against the kings of the two Sicilies and Sardinia; the King of Sardinia was soon dispossessed of his continental dominions, as the French had the citadel of Turin for a considerable time. The king delivered up Piedmont into the hands of the

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Ehrenbreitstein surrenders to the French.

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Republicans, by an act which he signed in December, The king declared himself to have given up all authority, and commanded his subjects to obey the government which the French were about to establish. The Piedmontese army was to consider itself as a part of the French army of Italy, and obey the Republican general.

Neapolitan troops entered Rome on the 29th of November, and the fleets of Great Britain and Naples took the harbour of Leghorn; the French retreated, leaving a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo. The commander was summoned to surrender, and General Mack declared, that if the Neapolitan troops were fired at, he would put to death the sick in the hospitals; this flourish did not last long, for the Republicans engaged the army of Naples, and captured 12,000 prisoners, with 100 pieces of cannon, and 20 pair of colours. Rome was instantly abandoned by the king, and the victorious troops of the Republic again took possession of it: they proceeded towards Naples, and an armistice on any terms was implored by General Mack. He urged the inclemency of the weather and the dreadful state of the roads as motives for his demand; but General Championnet informed him, they would not halt till they had entered Naples in triumph.

The French forces, which had left the right side of the Rhine, took a position on the side of Germany, in opposition to Count Metternich, who presented fresh memorials respecting the siege of Ehrenbreitstein; but as it was likely that the deliberations at Rastadt would not be long, the Republic thought itself warranted in preparing for the worst. The forces on the left bank of the Rhine, united with the besiegers of Ehrenbreitstein on the right bank of the river. After a resistance of eighteen months, it was at length forced to surrender through

Armistice between the French and Neapolitans.

famine. The stores found there by the Republicans were immense.

The French commander in chief was ignorant of the state of the centre and left wing of his army under General Duhesme, who was equally so with the destiny of the right wing: he had forced his way through a country intersected by rivers, and defended by the troops of the enemy. With all its successes the French army was attacked by an armed peasantry and people, and was in great distress, when a deputation of Neapolitan officers, authorised by the Viceroy, waited upon General Championnet, proposing to deliver up Capua on being granted an armistice as the basis of a permanent treaty.

An armistice was concluded between the Republican General and the Prince of Milliano, by which Capua was to be delivered to the French, with all its artillery and stores. The army of Championnet was to have the country from Acerra before Naples; Benevento, and along the Adriatic, was to form a line of demarkation; the ports of Naples were to be evacuated by the ships belonging to those at war with the Republic; and the Neapolitans were to pay to France 10,000,000 of livres. Hostilities were not to commence till three days notice should be given by either of the parties. The King had fled to Palermo, leaving the management of affairs to M. Pignatelli, as viceroy, and went on board the British ships, with his court, attended by the Russian, Austrian, and British ministers.

The Republican General, in a secret note to the Directory, which went with the capitulation of Capua, declared that he was surrounded on all sides, destitute of provisions, ammunition, and articles of every kind; that

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General Mack leaves his Troops.

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the loss of a battle would have ruined his whole army, and a victory even, before Capua, would have availed him nothing. He looked on the possession of this place as of the utmost importance, since there was in it a supply for the army of all its wants, and greatly hastened the conquest of Naples. An armistice granted to a people so full of perfidy was no more than a stratagem of war, and the one now concluded could be broken by the Neapolitans whenever they thought proper; and that he had no doubt of the conquest of Naples about the time when the news of the surrender of Capua could reach the Directory, as he corresponded with the disaffected party, which was very numerous. The King was so dissatisfied that he refused to continue the armistice, and told the Viceroy, that he must have forgotten he had a matter when he signed such a treaty, for the sake of preserving the capital. The Directory passed the severest censures on General Championnet for agreeing to any armistice till he had subdued the whole kingdom.

The royalists looked on General Mack as a traitor, who, deserted by his soldiers, found no time to deliberate, and sent an officer before him to crave protection from General Championnet. So closely was he pursued that he reached the French camp almost as soon as the officer, and was received with kindness and affability. He got a passport, and was escorted to Milan. This enraged the Lanzaroni, they collected their forces in a body, and poured their vengeance on the Republicans, at Ponte Rotto, defeated the advanced guard, and pushed forward to the line of the French army, where multitudes were put to death, and the rest took refuge in flight.

The Prince of Melitorno had the address to be chosen their General; but when they learned that he wished to

negotiate with the French they deserted his standard. The Duke Della Torre and his brother Clement Filomino were first murdered, and then burnt to ashes, although inimical to monarchy. As the Lazzaroni had attacked the van guard of the Republican army, Championnet looked upon it as a signal for the attack of Naples.

General Championnet evinced his humanity by a proclamation, and sent it by the chief of a squadron; but the messenger was received by a volley of musketry; and after attempting to explain, he was forced to return. As General Championnet hoped that the appearance of his army would reduce the Lazzaroni to submission, he deferred the assault till the following day; but the fire they kept up convinced him that they would be subdued only by force. Those at St. Elmo acquainted the General in the night, that they only waited his commands to open a dreadful fire upon the city. The two battalions on Capo di Monte, had orders to march at night, and form a junction with the garrison of St. Elmo, and discharge upon the city the whole of their artillery. This was the signal for General Eble to commence firing upon it, and the whole army were to rush impetuously forward, and bear down all before it.

Victory was long uncertain. Although night overtook them, the firing continued, when the Republicans formed into two divisions, and, exhausted with fatigue, one of them charged on the gallant enemy, while the other sought some repose amidst a dismal heap of carnage and ruins. At the dawn of day the battle raged with fury, and it was doubtful who would be the conquerors. To end the conflict General Championnet gave orders to force the passages to the Castello Novo and the Fort del Carmine, at the point of the bayonet. A division was to

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The French get Possession of Naples.

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seize on the palace, and another to form a junction with the garrison of St. Elmo, already in possession of part of the city.

While all was yet horror and uncertainty, the French General thought that he might attack the superstitious ideas of those savage people, and he published an account of his regard for their great St. Januarius ! This had the desired effect ; his conversion flew like lightning through the city, and did more in his favour than his artillery. One of their chiefs delivered an oration to his soldiers, ordered them to stop their firing, and to lay down their arms. He was listened to with reverence and obeyed with alacrity. This brought a termination of hostilities, and the horrors of war were followed by acclamations of joy.

The Lazzaroni became the advocates of liberty and equality. They plundered the royal palace, which but a short time before they would have defended to the last, and it required General Championnet to hinder them from committing the most extravagant excesses. He left the command of the place to General Dufresne, and encamped his army on the heights around the city of Naples. He disarmed the fickle and furious inhabitants, which prevented the public peace from being disturbed. The army, which had done so much under its able commander, was denominated " The army of Naples." The General in person proclaimed it to his troops, accompanied by the shouts of the multitude and the tremendous thunder of cannon.

The clergy and many of the nobles celebrated the entry of the French. Te Deum was sung ; the abolition of monarchy was decreed, and the state declared a republic.

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\* The Island of Minorca taken by the British.

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General Championnet, and all his principal officers, were cashiered by the Directory, as traitors ; and General Serrurier, worthy of such employers, by having seized the little republic of Lucoa, overturned its government, and laid it under a contribution for 2,000,000 of livres, received the command of the Army of Naples.

## CHAPTER LIX.

WHILST the French were securing the conquest of Italy, a ray of wisdom found its way into the cabinet of St. James's ; and the people began to see the importance of obtaining a rendezvous for the British navy in the Mediterranean. An expedition was fitted out to take Minorca, an island belonging to Spain, but of infinite value to England, both to watch the port of Toulon, and to provide a commercial depot, whence a contraband trade might be carried on with the southern French and Spanish coasts to a vast amount. The British landed without opposition, and after a few shot the place capitulated without resistance.

The Spanish government were not more fortunate in an attack on the Bay of Honduras, conducted by the Governor of Yucatan, for he was totally defeated by the British. The English arms achieved another victory in the capture of Goza, which was followed by the block-

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The Archduke Charles passes the Lech.

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ade of Malta, so lately wreathed among the laurels of our enemy.

The winters of 1798-9, were so severe that the Russians and Austrians could not join till early in the spring. The plenipotentiaries at Rastadt issued a proclamation on the state of affairs, where it was stated that the government wished for peace, and would order their armies to fall back, if his Imperial Majesty would cause the Russian troops to evacuate his dominions. This was followed by an address from General Jourdan, in which he breathed the same sentiments; and the ambassadors, wished the Emperor to be assured, that the movements of the French armies were not forerunners of hostilities, but occasioned by the march of the Russians. War was decided on by both parties, and the possession of Switzerland by the French made the government determine to act on the offensive.

The French profited by their positions in Switzerland to reach the mountains of the Black Forest, and gain the heights about the Lake of Constance, to give strength to their attacks. The Archduke passed the River Lech on the 5th of March, on the right side of which were the greater part of his forces. His first care was Ulm, which he garrisoned and stored, as he meant it should flank the right of his army, and having marched his troops by the way of Donawerth, he fixed his head-quarters at Memmingen. General Starray on the left of the Danube, kept a watchful eye on Bernadotte, and Nauendorf was chief of the vanguard of the main army. The Republican forces in Swabia and Switzerland amounted to 80,000 men, and those of Austria were 110,000. The French and Austrian forces on the Rhine were nearly equal, about 25,000 each.



As the Imperial army was inclined to keep a line between the Lake of Constance and the Danube, instead of marching towards that river, the Republican General seized on such positions as would secure his communication with the army of Switzerland. The armies of the hostile powers occupied the country from the banks of the Danube to the Adriatic Gulph. The first hostilities took place on the right of the two French armies, which were opposed to the main body of the Austrians and the divisions sent to the left under the Archduke's command. General Massena was established at Alstaten, in the Rheinthal, with an army of 45,000 men, threatening the entrance into the country of the Grisons. While Jourdan drew towards the Lake of Constance, General Massena went to Sargans, and summoned Auffenberg to evacuate the Grisons; the Imperial General refused to comply, and Massena gave orders to make a vigorous, but feigned, attack on Feldkirch, to conceal his operations and prevent Hotze from granting aid to General Auffenberg, at Coire.

He also sent a division to turn Coire by the heights, and assault the bridges on the forks of the Rhine, five miles farther up the river than Coire. The centre of his army crossed the river, got possession of Balzers, and cut off the communication between Feldkirch and the Grisons. The posts of Meyenfeld and Zollbruck were forced; the fort of Luciensteg was carried by assault, and the French having got possession of the castle of Holdenstein, General Auffenberg being in a situation which precluded any assistance, surrendered Coire, and his whole division became prisoners, to the amount of 7,000 men.

The French attacked Feldkirch on the 12th of March.

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The Imperialists retreat.

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but were driven back with great loss. On the 14th they made a similar attempt, but with no better success ; this made the Archduke place the utmost confidence in his defensive line of 18,000 men, which covered his left wing, and he pushed on his van-guard towards Stockach. Jourdan wanted reinforcements ; but as he had little doubt of the success of General Massena against Feldkirch, he united his whole force, and seemed to wait the attack of the Austrian army. It was at last impossible to avoid a general engagement, as the armies were so near it was with difficulty their advanced guards could perform their respective manœuvres.

The Archduke had his vanguard on the heights of Sulgau and Alhausen, and his head-quarters at Schaundorf. General Jourdan sent an officer to the camp of the Austrian van guard, to inquire whether the despatches expected by the French Directory from the court of Vienna had arrived ; and on being told that they had not, he declared the armistice at an end. This intimation was followed by a severe attack, and the van guard of the Imperialists was forced to retreat beyond Klosterbeuren, where it got reinforcements from the main body of the army.

As Massena had but one opportunity before the return of General Hotze, he attacked Feldkirch in different points, with a body of grenadiers, forming a junction with the troops of Oudinot. This was conducted by Massena in person, who was driven back with great loss and that of the enemy was not inferior. General Oudinot crossed the Rhine, occupying Rheineck, at the confluence of that river into the Lake of Constance, which made Hotze resume his position at Feldkirch. Flushed with his successes, the Archduke pursued Jourdan's

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Difficult March of the French Troops.

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army, which had fallen back beyond Stockach ; and as he was sure that he could secure his retreat by Shaffhausen, he determined to attempt to draw the Archduke from the Lake of Constance.

He received orders from the Directory to cross the Rhine, and force his way into Germany, to which he replied, that his army did not exceed 66,000 men, including those in Switzerland and on the Danube, while he had to contend with not less than 150,000, in which case he declared to the Directory, that a contest might make him fall with glory, but he could not expect to reap any laurels.

In their march to Munster the Republicans defied difficulties which would have stopped those who guide strangers over the Glaciers ; they chimed the Wormser, reckoned one of the highest mountains of the Julian Alps, dividing the sources of the Adda and the Adige, in spite of the snows and ice with which it was covered. From this mountain they might be said to roll into the valley, which they reached in safety, and all the Austrian troops, baggage, and cannon, fell into the hands of the French.

Laudohn, with a small number of infantry, forced through the Republicans above Glurentz, and formed a junction with General Bellegarde ; but could not resist the impetuosity of the French, and retreated to the protection of Bolzen, where they made a demand for the Tyrolean militia.

All Italy, from the Alps to the mountains of Tyrol, and from Venice to Sicily, was in the hands of the French : but before the campaign was opened there, that of the Danube was terminated by the retreat of Jourdan.

He was obliged to abandon all offensive operations,

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*Russian Troops appear in Italy.*

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and, uniting with the army of Massena, took the left bank of the Rhine, from the Grisons towards the French territory. General Jourdan was recalled, and Massena was appointed Commander in Chief.

As the French abandoned the idea of a union of the armies of Italy and Switzerland in the Grisons, it became an object with the Austrians to get into the valley of the Oglio, so that they would be able to flank the French army, and make it adopt defensive measures to protect the Milanese: but this was unavailing while General Scherer could act on the Adige in an offensive manner. The French posts, from Bormio, in the Grisons, to the Lakes of Idro and Garda, were attacked and compelled to retreat to Brescia.

This was the position of the French and Austrian armies in the north of Italy, when the Russian troops made their appearance; and Count Metternich, the Austrian Plenipotentiary, gave notice that the war had broken out again, and that the Minister of the Empire was recalled. The French Ministers protested they would repair to Strasbourg, and there receive whatever overtures of peace might be presented to them. The Grand Chancellor wrote to Colonel Barbaczy, ordering a safe escort to the French Plenipotentiaries; at a late hour he wrote the Ambassadors that they must quit the territory in twenty-four hours. Before the French Ministers quitted Rastadt 400 hussars entered the town, and allowed no person to go out or come in.

The French Ambassadors took their carriages about eight o'clock in the evening, but did not depart till they sent a requisition to the Commandant of the place, who dwelt at the extremity of the town. They succeeded in getting permission, and were escorted by two hussars,

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 French Ambassadors massacred at Rastadt.
 

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who afterwards left them, and returned to town. Before they were 500 paces from the town a troop of hussars sallied upon them, and began to execute the horrid orders of their superiors. The Plenipotentiary, Jean Debry, was first, with his wife and children, and he held out his passport to the Russians who surrounded his carriage. This was not their object: he was dragged out and fell covered with gashes from sabres on different parts of his body. Thinking him dead, they began to plunder the carriage, while he crawled, unperceived, into a ditch. The secretary and valet-de-chambre were in the second carriage, and received only a few blows, on saying that they were servants: their carriage was also plundered. The Ambassador Bonnier rode by himself, and gave an affirmative answer when asked if he was such a minister. He was dragged out and murdered in the most inhuman manner, his head, legs, and arms being cut off. The secretary Rosensteil, seeing the tragical scenes acting before him, leaped out of the chariot and escaped. In his carriage they found a portmanteau full of papers, which they scattered about, but quickly collected again with the greatest care. The Ambassador Roberjot was in the fifth carriage, with his wife; they found it difficult to drag him out, as she clasped him in her arms: but at last they cut his head in two with a sabre.

The carriages, ladies, and servants returned to Rastadt, and the secretary, Rosensteil, reached the town about eleven o'clock at night, by a number of by-ways. The Ambassador, Jean Debry, had got into a wood, and bound up his wounds, the coldness of the night assisting to congeal his blood; he ventured out at day light, and got, unperceived into the town. There is little doubt

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Sieyes elected into the Directory.

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but that the perpetrators of this infernal transaction were hired, as they offered no violence to any but the Ambassadors. The French Directory charged it on the cabinet of Vienna; but the Allies charged it on the Directory, who, it is said, were afraid the ambassadors should return to Paris, and expose the intrigues by which the executive power had prevented the peace from being concluded.

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## CHAPTER LX.

NEVER was a time when the human heart beat so in expectation of great events as the present. France saw herself falling as hastily as she had risen, and Austria was recovering her fame. The talents of Bonaparte secured the only strength of the Republic, and the idea depressed the French as much as it encouraged their enemies. The hatred against the Directory was greatly diminished by the election of the Abbe Sieyes into that body in the room of Rewbell, and the contending armies entered upon the contest upon more equal terms than they had ever done before.

The Archduke threatened the left of Massena's army, under General Ernou, who occupied the defiles of Kintzig, which caused General Massena to retreat by Kehl, and

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Moreau commands the French army.

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fix his head-quarters at Basil. He was master of the Rheintal and Rheineck, at the upper end of the Lake of Constance; and kept possession of Schaffhausen till the posts on the left side should be fortified. Basil was strongly garrisoned. It is not known what influenced the Archduke, yet he made only a few movements near the Lake of Constance, till he invested Schaffhausen on the 13th of April. General Nauendorf entered the place sword in hand; the Republicans burnt the bridge as they left the town.

The French were unable to keep their position near Mantua, they continued to retreat, and crossed the Chiusa at Asola. The Austrians blockaded this place; and Klenau became master of the posts which supplied the garrison, cutting off the communication between it and Ferrara. Thirty-two boats, with 200 pieces of artillery, and an equipage of pontoons, fell into the hands of General Klenau at Lagooscuro. The right wing of the Austrian army penetrated beyond the Lake of Garda; the fleet of boats belonging to the French were forced under the cannon of Peschiera, by the armed boats of the enemy from Riva, and Peschiera was besieged.

On the 17th of April, the head quarters of the Republicans were at Lodi, famous by the victory of Bonaparte in a former campaign. General Scherer, loaded with disgrace, abandoned a station to which he should not have been raised; and was succeeded by General Moreau, when the army was reduced one half.

Moreau's only hope of safety depended on his flight. The Russians and Austrians had joined, and every place on the frontiers of the Cisalpine Republic was left to its own resources, and a wish to capitulate was denied to

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Massena defeats the Swiss.

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Peschiera. A sally from Mantua, had been vigorously repulsed, the castle of Ferrara persevered in its resistance and the garrison of Brescia surrendered.

Moscau retreating towards the Milanese, General Macdonald, at Naples, became in a critical situation; for the communication with Genoa was intercepted, the posts of the Po, either deserted or captured by the enemy, and the Roads of Parma and Tuscany, which had been seized by the French, were extremely hazardous. The Republican army was greatly reduced by the bloody battle on the Adige, and diminished by throwing garrisons into small posts, not one of which could impede the march of the Imperial armies for a single day.

Massena attacked the Swiss of the small cantons on the Lake at Schwitz, and forced them to lay down their arms; and at Altorf 4000 men were either dispersed or cut to pieces. General Soult followed this patriotic army to the valley of Urseren, to prevent their gaining the pass of St. Gothard. As the Valteline was left exposed, more was necessary to defend the left wing of the French army in Switzerland, than the re-establishment of its interior communications. General L'Orison made good his retreat into the Grisons, being forced to abandon part of his artillery, and Lecourbe crossed from the Lower Engadin to Bellinzona, to protect the pass of St. Gothard, by destroying the communication between the small cantons and the Swiss Italian baillages. Lecourbe took a position at Bellinzona, while the head quarters of General Massena were at Zurich, performing a variety of manoeuvres with his left wing to delude the Archduke; but that General adhered to his original intention of gaining the Grisons before attempting any thing on the Rhine.



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A large Russian force joins the Austrians.

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Bent on this plan, he sent reinforcements to Valldikuh. A new attack was planned between Hotze and Bellegarde, who had reached Lentz, in pursuing the Republicans on their retreat from the Upper Engadine, where the Austrian commanders were joined by numbers of the Grisons in arms. The Swiss troops were eager to form the vanguard of the column to act against Lœchensteig, now made remarkably strong by the French. This fort was situated in a narrow defile, formed by awful rocks, whose summits to the Eastward embraced the steep heights inclosing the valley, half a league in length.

The Archduke, on the 8th of May, was informed of the arrival at Gallicia of a large Russian force, destined for the Rhine. General Telstoy went to the Archduke's head quarters at Stockach, for instructions about the destination of his troops, which were a part of 40,000 men subsidized by Great Britain, and independent of the army of Italy. The Russians were estimated at 70 000 men, who had arrived, or were on their way.

General Hotze succeeded in becoming master of the key of the Grisons, which occasioned an immense waste of blood and treasure. The first of his four columns was to make a feigned attack at the upper end of the defile; the second to secure the mountains above Mayenfeld, and to render easy the attack on the front, by a descent on the rear, as the signal for a serious attack. The third column was to free the Sceriser Alps on the North and North-east; and the last, with the artillery and cavalry, was to storm the passage on the East, by the Slapiner-Joch. The front column was headed by Hotze in person, and the other three by General Jellachich; and not till after twelve hours march with excessive fa-

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**Suwarrow plans four Expeditions.**

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tigue, did the Austrians arrive at the rear of the Republican outrenchments, the only place where they could form a junction. Hotze forced the pass, and having blown up the gate in defiance of the Republican fire, he took the fort commanded by General Hubner: the French 4th demi-brigade were taken prisoners, amounting to 8,000 men.

The success of the combined army in Italy hastened the progress of the Archduke Charles. The forces of Suwarrow were so far superior to those he had to contend with, that he could easily detach different corps from his army to take possession of the vallies in succession, and check the Republicans in the passes of Switzerland, which were to be looked on as held by the French under a precarious tenure from the spirit of disaffection which the people discovered: this spirit had been in some degree allayed by General Soult, who had reached St. Gothard to co-operate with Lecourbe; but, although crushed, it was far from extinguished.

As Suwarrow had reached Lombardy in a shorter time than he expected, after crossing the Adda and making himself master of Milan, he sent a vast number of his troops on four different expeditions. He determined—First, To prosecute his operations against Mevens, that he might oblige the French commander to hasten his retreat, and evacuate Piedmont and Genoa before he could procure reinforcements.—Secondly, To penetrate above the lakes, which would enable the Archduke more easily to pass with his left wing beyond St. Gothard.—Thirdly, behind him on the South-east, General Kray laid siege to Mantua with 25,000 men, while Ferrara and Bologna were blockaded by Klenau; the defence of these places was

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Moreau retreats in three columns.

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favourable to the retreat of the troops commanded by General Macdonald.—Fourthly, He sent General Ott to assist Klenau to check General Macdonald to gain the passes of the Appenines on Upper Tuscany, and cut off all intercourse with that country and the Ligurian Republic on its North-west.

If Genoa had fallen into the hands of the Allies Macdonald would have been cut off, and the English and Neapolitan forces might themselves have destroyed his army. General Moreau, therefore, retreated in three columns after he crossed the Adda and evacuated Milan; the right took its way towards Placentia; the centre marched towards Genoa, and the left by Vigevano and Novarra; while the main body of the army continued its retreat upon the Ligurian Republic; General Moreau proceeded to Turin, where he prepared to evacuate it. Unable to defend the plains of Piedmont with an army reduced to 25,000 men, and to retain the country of Genoa to the Southward, Moreau left Turin on the 7th of May, and changed his head-quarters to Alexandria: he kept Suwarrow on the left side of the Po to favour the retreat of General Macdonald, for which he took his station under Tortona, and his advanced posts extended toward the Appenines.

Suwarrow sent a vanguard to reduce Novarra and such places as the Republicans had abandoned, and to march up the Po as far as Turin, and thus call the attention of General Moreau to his rear, by flanking his left wing. General Hohenzollern proceeded towards Placentia, with a part of the combined army, and drove back the Republican vanguard beyond Voghera. To gain the passes into Genoa by way of the Appenines, Suwarrow took

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The Russians defeated with loss.

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a station at Bobbio, on the road from Piacenza to Genoa.

When Kray was master of Peschiera, he went on to Bergoforte, and assembled the whole of his troops around Mantua, the garrison of which made frequent sorties. Latterman opened the siege of Milan on the 5th of May, the trenches before Pizzighitone having been opened the same day by General Kaim, which, after four days, was forced to surrender. This was attributed to the blowing up of a powder magazine, which caused the capitulation of the garrison, amounting to 600 men. The monstrous army of Suwarrow was thus much diminished; yet, if he had equalled Moreau in military tactics, he might have succeeded in destroying all the Republicans in Italy, and penetrated into the Southern frontiers of France, and, perhaps, have restored that country to its ancient rulers; but the abilities of Moreau rendered both impossible.

The Russian general strove to dislodge the French commander from his camp behind the Po, between Valenza and Alexandria. General Chastee attacked Tortona, and blew up the gates in spite of the fire from the castle, into which the French had retreated.

If Moreau had lost a battle he could not effect a retreat on either side of the Appenines. The attack of Suwarrow on the left wing of his army was put in execution on the 11th, by the Austrian troops, who experienced a warm reception on crossing the Po above Valenza; but on the next day hostilities were more serious, when 7000 Russians, under General Schubart, crossed the river near the place where the Po and Tanaro unite their streams, with a view to penetrate the line of Moreau's army. General Grenier's division bore the first shock of the Rus-

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*Suwarrow proceeds to Turin.*

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sian troops, when Moreau attacked them in flank, and the conquest was decisive; numbers of the Russians were either slain or perished in the Po, among them their commander, General Schubarf.

Suwarrow resolved to proceed to Turin with most of his army, to compel Moreau to abandon his camp, and retreat to the Ligurian Republic or fall back on the frontier of France: Vukassovich, on the 16th attacked Casale Verrua and Ponto Stura, and General Melas got orders to take his route towards Candra. It is doubtful whether Moreau had intelligence of these manœuvres, or saw movements in the Russian camp at Torre Garafolo, indicative of something against which he was determined to guard; but during the night he threw a bridge across the Bormida, and passed it next morning with 7,000 men, commanding the cavalry in person: he broke the chain of posts of the cossacs at Marengo, pursuing them to Santo-Juliano, and sent a detachment to march against General Lusignan, whom he forced to abandon his position, and kept him separate from a body of seven Russian battalions; the French general was at last obliged to re-pass the Bormio river to Alexandria. This was the last effort made by Moreau to retain his position. Suwarrow determined to lose no time in attacking the Republicans on the left side of the Po above Valenza. His marches against Turin, were hindered for some days by heavy rains; and, on the 26th, Melas effected the passage of the Sesia, continuing his route to the Stura. The troops under Karaczay posted themselves in front of the Chartruse. Vukassovich went along the right side of the Po, taking a station on the heights of the Capuchins, and the city of Turin was summoned to surrender; the French

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General Macdonald evacuates Naples.

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commander replied with a brisk cannonade, and the bombardment commenced on the 27th.

Soon after the firing began, a house was set on fire by a bomb, the disorder it occasioned was used to the advantage of the allies by the armed inhabitants, who directly opened the gate. The garrison fled into the citadel, the division of Kaim took the town, Prince Bagartion the suburbs, and Frölich and Zoph formed a camp of observation on the south-west end, leading to Pignorol. From the time of hostilities on the Adige till Suwarrow came to the frontiers of France, only ten weeks had elapsed ! This would have covered him with glory, if the mismanagement of the French government did not act as a drawback upon the wisdom of its enemies. Moreau had made another masterly retreat with a handful of men ; but Suwarrow had a large army in his rear, which he found it necessary to watch. When General Macdonald heard that the French troops had retreated from before Mantua, he evacuated the kingdom of Naples, and created a numerous national guard of the Neapolitans, who appeared willing to defend themselves against the combined powers ; he provisioned Fort St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta. He proceeded to Florence, by the way of Rome ; the first division found the inhabitants in a state of rebellion while it crossed St. Germano and Isola : two villages were carried by assault, and all their inhabitants perished ; the Neapolitans who were democratic could not see the retreat of the French without dismay ; and the same was expressed by the Romans, for whose defence Macdonald left a garrison, with orders to retreat into the fort of St. Angelo, if attacked by superior numbers.

General Suwarrow pushed on his sieges, which prevented him from acting in the field with the chief of his

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Italian fortresses surrender to the Allies.

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army. He sent a reinforcement to the siege of Milan; but decisive operations were prevented, as he was obliged to assist the Prince of Rohan, who was to act against superior forces, at the entrance into the Italian bailiwicks, where Lecourbe was more than a match for him, although he was joined by the inhabitants who discovered a spirit of insurrection. The Republicans retreated from Lagano to Bellinzona by Mount Cenero, and attempted to gain Switzerland; the imperial forces were recalled, and the trenches opened, on the 23d of May, against Milan, the commander of which signed a capitulation, and procured for his troops, amounting to 2,200 men, a free passage and the honours of war, but that they should not bear arms against the Allied Powers for one year. The citadel of Ferrara was forced to capitulate, and 1,500 men, of which it consisted, had terms from General Kleinau similar to those granted to Milan. Ravenna surrendered soon after; and Ancona capitulated to the combined fleets of Turkey and Russia. General Kray continued the siege of Mantua, who received orders to withdraw his troops, leaving behind him only such as he might think sufficient to carry on the siege. His first object was to force the French to abandon Bologna, which was defended with bravery, the Bolognese supporting the French: to the Republicans that was of the greatest importance, as it obstructed the road towards Tuscany, and protected the retreat of the army of Naples.

When General Nauendorf passed the Rhine at Schaffhausen, on the 22d, with the main body of the Archduke's army, Hotze also effected the passage of that river. The Rheinthal was now evacuated by the Republicans under General de Lorge, and after Hotze had gained the post of

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The French repulsed at Andelfingen.

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Werderberg, forded his way into the Toggenburg, by the Thur river. While the troops which had crossed at Rheineck were marching to St. Gall, the column which kept the course of the Thur attempted to reach Turgovia by a forced march. Hotze wished to join the vanguard of General Nauendorf, at Aldersingen, to establish the remaining part of the army; as the Archduke wished to collect all his forces before he ventured a general engagement.

General Massena marched against the vanguard of General Nauendorf, to prevent a junction, and frustrate a meditated attack on his lines, on the Linth river. General Nauendorf's vanguard was beyond the left side of the Thur; and he determined to oppose the vanguard of General Hotze, surprising it while prosecuting its route.

These plans led to a very sanguinary affair, when the Republicans defeated the hussars that defended the posts of Nauendorf, and succeeded in taking the bridge of Andelfingen over the Thur, but were, at last, obliged to abandon it. As the Austrians were much fatigued, having marched the whole of the preceding day, their loss was considerable.

The battle lasted from nine in the morning till five in the evening, and the Austrians suffered severely; but they were finally victorious, and the French were repulsed. In spite of this opposition the Archduke accomplished what he had in view, changing his head quarters to Paradies, and next day retook all he had lost on the left side of the Thur. He proceeded to Winterthur, and Hotze having forced the Republicans back to the mountain on the road to Zurich, advanced to attack them in front.

Moreau was too feeble to keep up a defensive line between St. Gothard and the sea, and he was obliged to



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General Moreau falls back.

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abandon this support to his left wing, as well as his communication with Massena: after getting from Switzerland such reinforcements as he could expect from Massena, he fell back to cover the Ligurian republic, and to furnish Macdonald with the means of retreating. General Suwarrow taking the interval which Moreau relinquished, kept up a war of posts in the passes of Switzerland, and resolved on the capture of Turin. Moreau's wishes were gratified, which the Russian general did not comprehend. Suwarrow found it impracticable either to surround Moreau, to make him abandon the Apennines, or collect forces capable of acting on the offensive in Upper Tuscany, as the French were getting continual reinforcements from the Vanguard of Macdonald.

The camp of Moreau at Cuni was near fifty leagues from the advanced posts of Macdonald on the frontiers of Tuscany, while he withdrew to the frontiers of France, to wait the trifling reinforcements he expected by the Col-de-Tende. He sent a division to enable Macdonald to use offensive measures, and reach Liguria by opening the passes. The Republicans retook Mondovi, and blockaded Ceva; but General Vukassovich rescued these two places, being at that time master of Carmagnole and Alba, as also of Cherasco. Moreau diverted the attention of the allied army as much as possible, and drew off the most part of its forces.

Suwarrow marched to attack General Moreau, who, leaving a strong garrison at Cuni, retreated to Col-de-Tende, on the 7th of June. The blockades of Tortona, Alexandria, and the citadel of Turin, were carried on with the greatest vigour and perseverance.

The Archduke having got possession of St. Gothard, and fearing no danger to his left wing, sent General Bel-

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Alexander and Turin blockaded.

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legarde to reinforce the army of Italy; the remainder, under General Haddick, were stationed at Domo d'Ossola, either to march into Switzerland, or assist the army of Italy, as circumstances might require. Belegarde, with a strong force, marched through Milan. The forces of General Macdonald might be 40,000 men, including the reinforcements under General Victor; it could not exceed this number, when we recollect that he left garrisons at Fort St. Elmo, Capua, Gaeta, Rome, Civita-Vecchia, Ancona, and other places, to cover his retreat.

When Macdonald arrived in Tuscany, he first rid all the passes of the Apennines. Pontremoli was in the hands of Général Ott, which is on the frontier of Tuscany with the Ligurian republic.

General Macdonald strengthened his right wing under Montrichard, who engaged and repulsed Klenau, and raised the siege of Fort Urbino. The legion of Poland was despatched against Pontremoli, and ordered to recapture this place from the Imperialists at any price. Macdonald fixed his head quarters at Lucca, and found it easy to communicate with Genoa, become acquainted with the positions and strength of the allied armies, and concert subsequent operations with General Moreau: he was in a better position than his hopes presaged, and hoped to open such a scene of operations as would at once be new and unexpected.

Macdonald made a very sanguinary attack in which cavalry and infantry equally suffered; and the Austrians gave up Modena, which was plundered. His advanced guard obliged General Ott to retreat with 8000 men. General Suwarrow, who was besieging the citadel of Turin, marched to meet him with all possible despatch. An engagement took place, and the republicans were de-

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Great slaughter in Italy.

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seated with much bloodshed on both sides. Macdonald again attacked them, and the carnage was horrible. The country for twelve miles was covered with the dead, and the Trebia choaked up with carcasses. The Polish legion was nearly cut to pieces. Macdonald retreated from Placentia, being obliged to leave 3,000 wounded to the mercy of the Austrians, among them were four generals; he was himself also wounded.

General Moreau left Genoa with 25,000 men, and the Austrians were forced to abandon their positions, and retreat across the Bormida in great precipitation: by this he raised the siege of Tortona, Suwarrow pursued Macdonald beyond Placentia, but unable to overtake him, he proceeded to meet Moreau. Turin surrendered, which was of advantage to the allies, as it released General Kaime's forces, who marched to join the grand army. The whole of Italy might be said to be in the hands of the combined powers; and a suspension of hostilities took place, as both powers waited for reinforcements. It is calculated that more men perished in four months than ever was known in modern warfare; and out of 370,000 which the warlike powers brought into the field, full one half were lost within that time.

## CHAPTER LXI.

THOSE who have admired the enterprising spirit of Alexander, the retreat of the ten thousand under Xenophon, and the fortitude of Charles the Twelfth, will not regard the valorous struggles of the republican generals wholly unworthy of praise. Bonaparte was placed in situations, where the slightest omission would have led to the inevitable destruction of his army : we left him preparing for the expedition to Syria, and he was ignorant of the state of affairs in Europe, owing to the English blockading the mouths of the Nile, and preventing any intelligence passing either in or out of Egypt. Bonaparte ordered General Desaix, who had proceeded into Upper Egypt to drive the Mamelukes beyond the cataracts of the Nile, and then ordered the departure of his own army. This force comprehended the divisions of General Kleber, who had under him Generals Veydier and Junot, of the division of General Regnier, who had under him General Legrange ; of the division of General Lasne, who had under him Generals Vaux, Robin, and Rambeau ; of the division of General Murat, with 900 cavalry, accompanied by four light 4-pounders. The artillery was commanded by General Daumartin, and the engineers by General Caffarelli ; the park of artillery was four twelve pounders, three 8-pounders, five howitzers, and three 5-inch mortars ; to each division were two 8-pounders, two 6-inch howitzers, and two three pounders. To the guide parties, cavalry and infantry, were allotted four

8-pounders and two 6-inch howitzers. The different corps constituted an army of about 10,000 men.

Bodies of troops were stationed at Alexandria, Damietta, and Cairo, as garrisons, or formed into moveable columns, to keep the provinces of Lower Egypt in obedience, and to protect them against the Arabs. Citizen Pouissielgue, chief financial administrator, remained at Cairo; the paymaster-general of the army accompanied the expedition. Alexandria was of very great importance, it could not be given but to an officer, who knew engineering and military science in general; that fortress, from the distance of Bonaparte, was almost independent of him; added to these, the English were in the neighbourhood, and symptoms of the plague were beginning to appear: the general of brigade, Marmont, a young officer of family and fortune, received that important command.

Bonaparte ordered the officer to whom Damietta was entrusted, to fortify that place, and transport the stores and provisions across Lake Menzale to the port of Tinneth, whence they were to be sent to Cathich, a march of about five hours. Some battering cannon was necessary to reduce Acre, in case of resistance; to bring them by the Desert was impracticable; they were ordered on board a squadron of four frigates, which lay in the road of Alexandria, and conveyed by sea, in defiance of the English cruisers.

The admiral was to cruise off Jaffa, and keep up communication with the army: every diligence was used at Cairo in getting the camels and mules to convey the field artillery, the stores, ammunition, &c. for the passing of an army through the Desert.

General Kleber was to embark at Damietta, the French

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General Regnier blockades El-Arish.

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being masters of Lake Menzale, and proceed to Tiuth from thence to march to Cathieh, where he was expected to arrive on the 4th of February. General Regnier arrived at Cathieh on the 4th of February, and joined his advanced guard; the 6th he marched for El-Arish, which, with the fort, was occupied by about 2,000 troops of the Pacha of Acre. On the 8th of February he saw a party of Mamelukes, but these were soon dispersed. Next day he advanced, and took possession of some sand hills, which command El-Arish, where he took a position and planted his artillery. General Regnier ordered the charge to be beat, and the advanced guard rushed rapidly on the right and left of the village, which was attacked by Regnier in front. In defiance of the advantageous position of the enemy, in a village like an amphitheatre with a few houses built with stone, and covered by the fort; notwithstanding a galling fire, the village was carried by the bayonet, the enemy retired, and barricadoed the doors with such haste, as to exclude about 800 men, who were either killed or taken prisoners. General Regnier blockaded the fort of El-Arish; a corps of cavalry and infantry were seen on the route from Gaza, escorting a convoy of provisions for El-Arish; this reinforcement increased till the 13th of February, when the Mamelukes advanced, and pitched their tents on a plain covered by a steep ravine, where they thought themselves safe from attack.

A party of General Regnier's division rushed into the camp, killed a great many, took a number of camels, horses, and prisoners, with great quantities of provisions and warlike stores, and the field equipages of the Mamelukes. On the second day after this affair Bonaparte appeared before El-Arish.

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*El-Arish surrenders to the French.*

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The General got an express from Alexandria, stating that the English squadron bombarded that city and port; he judged this manoeuvre was only meant to divert him from his expedition to Syria, which had already alarmed the English and the Pacha of Acre. He quietly suffered them to continue their bombardment, which produced little effect; on the 17th of February he arrived at El-Arish, where he was joined by the divisions of Generals Bon and Lasne and the corps of artillery.

General Regnier not being furnished with ammunition to batter in breach, summoned the commander of the fort and rendered the blockade closer. The army took a position before El-Arish, between the village and the sea: Bonaparte ordered one of the towers to be cannonaded, and, when a breach was effected, the place was summoned to surrender. The garrison consisted of barbarians without regular chiefs, and ignorant of war as carried on between civilized nations. At length the garrison, consisting of 1,600 men, surrendered on the sole condition of being allowed to retire to Bagdad across the Desert; a number of the Mangrabins entered into the French service. In the fort were about 250 horses, two dismounted pieces of artillery, and provisions for a few days. Bonaparte sent to Cairo the standards taken, and the Mameluke prisoners.

General Kleber set out towards Kan-jouness, a frontier village of Palestine, near the Desert. The headquarters were removed from El-Arish and destined for Kan-jouness; the general in chief, the staff, &c. arrived near that place without having any intelligence of General Kleber's division. Bonaparte sent some of his escort to the village: no French troops had arrived there: some Mamelukes, who were there, fled to the camp of

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*The Mameluke cavalry on the height of Gaza.*

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Abdallah Paoha, at the distance of about a league, on the route to Gaza. Bonaparte, convinced that Kleber's division was misled, fell back towards Santon, three leagues in the Desert. He there found the advanced guard of the cavalry; the guides had led General Kleber astray in the Desert; but he compelled some Arabs to point out the right road. His division arrived after a march of forty-eight hours, during which he was without water! The divisions of Generals Bon and Lasne were also led astray: these three divisions thus arriving at Santon nearly together, the wells were soon exhausted; the soldiers, tormented by a burning thirst, sunk wells, but could only obtain a very partial supply of water. General Regnier was to remain at El-Arish, to put the fort, which is the key of Egypt towards Syria, into a respectable state of defence, and to wait until the field artillery should advance. That division was to form the rear guard of the army.

The army marched from Kan-jouness towards Gaza; a body of the Mameluke's cavalry was perceived upon the heights. Bonaparte formed the divisions into squares, General Kleber formed the left, and was to march against Gaza, on the right of the enemy; the division of General Bon occupied the centre, and advanced towards its front; the right was the division of General Lasne, which turned the positions which Abdallah occupied. General Murat, with the cavalry, and six pieces of cannon, marched in front of the infantry, and prepared to charge the enemy. The cavalry of Abdallah made irregular movements, and their confusion was manifest; they suddenly advanced and seemed willing to charge; they however, immediately made a retrograde movement. General Murat pushed forward, but failed in bringing the



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The French army advances to Jaffa.

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enemy to action ; a party of their riflemen were intercepted by General Kleber's division, by whom 21 were killed.

The army advanced beyond Gaza, having established head quarters in the town. The fort is of a circular form, flanked with towers. It contained 16,000lbs. of powder, a great quantity of cartridges, and other war-like stores, with several pieces of cannon. In the town were also about 100,000 rations of biscuits, some rice, a number of tents, and a great quantity of barley. The inhabitants sending deputies to meet the French, were treated as friends. The army remained the 26th and 27th in this quarter. Bonaparte was employed in organizing a system of government for the town and district ; he formed a divan, consisting of the principal Turkish inhabitants of the place. On the 28th the army advanced towards Jaffa, where the Mamelukes and Turks were collecting their forces. The escorts of provisions and ammunition from Catheih, were several days in the rear of the army ; but the stores which had been abandoned at Gaza, enabled the army to advance.

On the 1st of March the army rested at Ezdoud, and the 2d at Ramieh, a town inhabited by Christians ; a quantity of biscuit was found there, which the enemy could not remove, and as much was found at the village of Lidda. The hordes of Arabs took flight on the approach of the French ; General Kleber's division arrived before Jaffa : the enemy retired into the body of the place. The other divisions and the cavalry arrived soon after. General Kleber's division and the cavalry were to occupy a position about two leagues on the route to Acre, for the purpose of covering the siege of Jaffa. The town was invested by the divisions of Generals Bon and Lasne.

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Jaffa taken—the garrison put to the sword.

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Jaffa is surrounded by a wall ; it is flanked by towers, on which cannon were mounted. Towards the sea are two forts, which command the port and road. The point of attack fixed on was against the highest and strongest part of the works. The trenches were opened, a battery in breach was constructed against the square tower, the most commanding part of the whole front of attack.

On the 6th, at four o'clock the breach was deemed practicable. The besieged made great efforts ; but a breach was effected, and the division of General Lasne, in a short time, gained possession of two forts. The division of General Bon now entered the town near the port. The garrison defended themselves desperately, and, refusing to lay down their arms, were put to the sword ; it consisted of about 12,000 Turkish gunners, about 2,500 Maugrabins or Arnauts. Three hundred Egyptians, who had surrendered, were sent to Egypt. The loss of the French army was inconsiderable.

The command of the place was given to General Robin. The inhabitants were protected, they returned to their habitations, and order was restored. In the place was found the field train sent to Dgezzar Pacha, by the Grand Seignior, of 40 pieces of artillery, cannon, or large howitzers ; and 21 guns, brass or iron. In the port were 15 small trading vessels. Bonaparte gave orders to put the town and port in a proper state of defence ; and also to establish an hospital and magazines. He constituted a divan, of the most distinguished Turks of the place ; and sent orders to the Admiral, Perree, to sail from Alexandria, with the three frigates, and repair to Jaffa. This port was meant to be the depot of every thing that should be received from Alexandria and Damietta. As it was exposed to descents and incursions, Bonaparte gave the

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The French take Caiffa.

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command to General Gressier ; but he soon died there of the plague.

General Kleber was encamped at Misky, in front of the position, for covering the siege of Jaffa. The divisions of Generals Bon and Lasne and the head quarters joined the advanced guard at Misky ; the army marching to Zeta, the advanced guard observed a corps of cavalry. Abdallah Pacha was with 2,000 cavalry, on the heights of Korsum, having a body of about 10,000 Turks, who occupied a more elevated situation. The Pacha wished to check the progress of the army, and force it to an action among the defiles of Naplous; to retard its march to Acre. The divisions of Generals Bon and Kleber were formed in squares, and advanced against the cavalry, who fled from the contest. General Lasne's division, borne away by its ardour, pursued the Pacha into the mountains, and attacked the Naplousin force, and put it entirely to flight ; the light infantry pursued so far as to oblige the General to send them orders to desist ; they, at length obeyed, and the Naplousians, looking on this movement as a retreat, pursued, in their turn, the light infantry ; being acquainted with the advantageous situations in the mountains, they fired upon the French with great effect. The division sought in vain to draw the Naplousians from the mountains.

The 16th of March General Kleber advanced to Caiffa ; about 20,000 rations of biscuit, and as much rice, was found in the place. Caiffa is surrounded by walls, flanked by towers, a castle defends the road and port ; a tower commands the town at a small distance, but all is overlooked by the heights of Mount Carmel. The Mamelukes carried off the artillery, and all the military stores. The French garrisoned the castle, and on the 17th pre-

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*Sir Sydney Smith plans with the Porte.*

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ceeded towards St. John d'Acre. The roads were very bad, so that it was late when they arrived at the entrance of the river, which runs through marshy grounds. The passage was dangerous in the night, as the cavalry and infantry on the opposite bank appeared in great force. General Andreossy was dispatched to examine the fords; he passed with a battalion, and took possession at night fall of an eminence overlooking an entrenched camp. A party of the guards, and two pieces of artillery, took a position between the works and the river of Acre.

A bridge was constructed, and the army passed the river at day break on the 8th. Bonaparte led the army to an eminence which commanded St. John d'Acre. The Turks still kept their ground without the place, in the gardens which surrounded it, but they soon retired within the works.

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## CHAPTER LXII.

SIR W. SYDNEY SMITH, minister to the Porte, had arrived at Constantinople early in January. The Syrian campaign was concerted between that officer and the Turkish Government, and the British forces were ready to co-operate with the Pacha of Acre when Bonaparte reached that place. The English force was small, but it encouraged the troops of the Pacha; and the French General experienced an opposition that his power and talents could not surmount. The Republicans took up

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The French attack St. Jean d'Acre.

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their ground so near the water side, that Sir Sydney saluted them by a galling fire from his boats, and obliged them to retire with precipitation.

The siege commenced on the 26th of March: on the 28th field-pieces only were used to batter the tower in the line of attack. About three in the evening a breach was made; at the same time a mine was sprung, which did little execution. The breach was thought as practicable as that of Jaffa; but the French grenadiers were arrested by a fosse, fifteen feet deep, connected with a good counterscarp. The fire from the place was terrible. Terror for a moment affected some of the Turks; they fled, but soon rallied and returned to the breach, which the French in vain tried to mount, its height being near ten feet above the rubbish. This gave the Pacha time to rally his forces and ascend to the tower, whence they showered down stones, grenades, and combustible materials, upon the assailants. Some French grenadiers were unable to advance, and forced to return to the trenches.

The French army regarded the works at Acre as of little importance. The besieged made on the 30th a spirited sortie, but were forced to retire within their walls.

The British ships were driven from Acre by a storm, which caused the Turks to be left for some days alone in the combat; fortunately for them, previous arrangements made Bonaparte draw off a great part of his force about the same time.

Dgezzar had sent among the Naplouzians, and to Sidor, Damascus, and Aleppo, to induce all the Mussulmen, who could bear arms, to rise *en masse*, for the purpose of combating the infidels. This produced a great effect; large bodies of troops were assembling at Damascus, and magazines were establishing at the fort of Tabarie, which

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The French attacked by the Egyptians.

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was occupied by the Maugrabins. Anxious for these forces, Dgezzar caused sorties to be made during the first days of the siege, which the French thought were with a view of assisting the entry of those forces, Bonaparte therefore was eager to effect a breach before their arrival. He ordered a lodgement in the tower should be attempted; but the Turks filled the breach so with sand bags, timber, and bales of cotton, that the effort was impracticable; and he was unable to commence a new attack. He laboured to establish a mine to blow the tower up; this was a matter of great importance; but the Turks hindered the operation.

Bonaparte now saw that he must endeavour to prevent the reinforcements reaching the town. General Vial was sent to Tyre, where the inhabitants were in favour of the Pacha. At his approach the inhabitants took to flight; he however promised to protect them, and having left a garrison of 200 men to guard the place, he quitted Tyre on the 5th of April.

General Junot learned that the Mahomedans were assembling in great numbers on the heights of Loubi, and that some had advanced to the village of Loubi. He marched with a division, drafted from different corps, for the purpose of reconnoitering. He perceived the enemy near Loubi; he pursued his march, turned the mountain, and was surrounded in a plain by about 3000 cavalry. These rushed upon his force, and forced him to give examples of courage to his soldiers, who shewed themselves worthy of their intrepid leader, and dispersed the assailants. This affair cost the French sixty men, which was more to them than the 600 killed of the natives was to the Turks.

Bonaparte ordered General Kleber to march from the

camp before Acre with the remainder of the advanced guard, to join General Junot at Nazareth. Being informed that the enemy were still near Loubi, he determined to attack them the next day. He had scarcely reached the heights a quarter of a league from Loubi, when the enemy rushed into the plain. General Kleber was surrounded by near 4000 cavalry, and five or 600 foot, who prepared to charge him. The General attacked the cavalry, and directed a part of his force against the enemy's camp, which he carried; the enemy retreated in disorder towards the Jordan, and he could not pursue them for want of ammunition. The French were not long suffered to remain quiet, as the hordes lately defeated were joined by an immense body of Samaritans or Naplousians. Bonaparte learned that the country was rising to attack his posts in the wilderness, and resolved that a battle should be fought, to subdue a multitude who harassed him to the verge of his camp. He gave orders for making the dispositions for the attack at a distance, and to force them to repossess the Jordan. The route from Damascus, in crossing the Jordan, is either on the right of the Lake of Tabarie, by the bridge of Jacob, at three leagues distance from which is situated the castle of Saffet; or on the left of that lake by the bridge of El-Meckanie, a short distance from the fort of Tabarie. These two fortresses are to the right of the Jordan.

General Murat marched from before Acre with 1000 infantry and a regiment of cavalry. He was ordered to proceed to the bridge of Jacob, and take possession, and to join as soon as possible the troops under General Kleber, who was in want of reinforcements, that officer having signified his intentions of turning the enemy's po-

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He drives them over the Jordan.

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sitions, and to endeavour to surprise them by night in their camps.

Bonaparte set out from the camp with the remainder of the cavalry, the division of General Bon, and eight field-pieces, and took a position on the heights of Safarie, where the troops were all night under arms. He marched and arrived at the heights, from whence he perceived the division of General Kleber engaged with the enemy, whose force seemed to be about 25,000, all cavalry, and surrounding the French troops, who did not exceed 2000. Bonaparte prepared for turning the enemy at a considerable distance, cut off their retreat to Jenin, where their magazines were, and drove them to Jordan, where General Murat could successfully encounter them.

General Kleber had been retarded by the difficulties of the way, and the defiles he had to pass; he could not come up with the Mamelukes, until they had time to make preparations for his reception. The cavalry, to the amount of 25,000, surrounded the army of Kleber, but without success. The French musketry and grape shot did considerable execution.

Bonaparte, on arriving near the scene of action, ordered General Rampon to attack the enemy on the flanks and in the rear. General Vial was ordered to force the enemy towards the Jordan; and the infantry guides were to direct the course of the remaining troops towards Jenin, so as to intercept their retreat to that quarter. When the column began to advance an eight-pounder was discharged. General Kleber knowing by this signal of the approach of the General in Chief, no longer remained on the defensive, he advanced to the village of Fouli, which he carried by the bayonet; he then advanced towards the cavalry, putting all who resisted to



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Bonaparte returns to Acre.

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the sword. Disorder prevailed ; the enemy were cut off from their magazines, and surrounded by their adversaries, they determined to seek for refuge in the rear of Mount Tabor ; this they gained, and retreated over the bridge of El-Mekanie ; some were drowned in the Jordan.

General Murat surprised the son of the Governor of Damascus, killed a great number of men, and pursued the enemy on the route to Damascus. A column of cavalry surprised the camp of the Mamelukes, carried off 500 camels, killed a number of men, and made 250 prisoners. Intelligence of the successes were sent to the different corps occupying Tyre, Casarea, the Cataracts of the Nile, the Pelusian mouths, Alexandria, the posts on the borders of the Red Sea, at the Ruins of Kalsum, and at Arsinoe.

The battle of Mount Tabor caused the discomfiture of 25,000 cavalry, and 10,000 infantry, by 4000 French troops ; the capture of all the enemy's magazines in these parts, and their flight to Damascus. Their loss exceeded 5000 men ; and they could not conceive how they could have been defeated on a line of nine leagues, so little notion had they of combined operations.

Bonaparte returned to Acre, thinking that he had done great things ; but he had merely promoted the views of the British and Turkish commanders.

The siege of Acre was continued with the most inveterate obstinacy on the part of the French, and equally defended by the British and Turks ; they laboured at the works without cessation, and though the French several times carried the outworks, they were as often driven from them ; mines were endeavoured to be sprung, but as often counteracted. Bonaparte was extremely anxious

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A Turkish Fleet arrives at Acre.

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to reduce the place, and spared no pains to that effect, but the perseverance of the garrison, and his being but scantily supplied with heavy artillery and ammunition, were obstacles he could not get over. His men frequently made lodgements in the tower opposite to his batteries, but were constantly driven out; and when they attempted to scale the breach they had made, the Turks always sent them away, and poured hot liquids, and threw large stones down, which overthrew the foremost, and caused them to drive down those who followed.

A fleet of Turkish ships from Rhodes arrived at Acre, when the French had been upwards of a month before the place, laden with troops, stores, and provisions; seeing this reinforcement arrive, he made a desperate attack upon the town before they could arrive to its assistance; neither the determined resistance of the Anglo-Turks, nor the tremendous fire from the batteries were suffered to retard their progress; they spiked a number of cannon, but lost upwards of 150 officers and men in this attack. The French standard was seen at day light flying on the outer angle of the tower, and a lodgement was made by them in the tower to the north east. The fresh troops just arrived under Hassan Bey, were but half way to shore, and the utmost exertions were necessary to preserve the place till they got to land. Sir Sydney Smith landed them at the mole and took them to the breach armed with pikes. The gratitude of the Turks at the sight of such a reinforcement cannot be described; many returned with them to the breach, still defended by a few brave Turks, who poured heavy stones and other missiles upon their assailants. Dgezzar Pacha, who commanded at Acre, was sitting, according to the Turkish custom, to reward those who

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Acre again assaulted, but repulsed.

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brought him the head of an enemy ; his idea was not to defend the breach, but suffer the French to enter the works, and then destroy them. They mounted unmolested, and got into the Pacha's garden, where soon the bravest and most forward lay headless corpses ; the sabre, with a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet. Much confusion prevailed, the newly arrived Turks, not distinguished between one hat and another, aimed many a severe blow at their friends the English ; their mistake was however corrected by the exertions of the Pacha ; both sides fought with the greatest bravery, and Bonaparte saw that his troops were likely to suffer so much, that he ordered them to retreat.

On returning to the camp the French learned that Admiral Percee had taken two vessels separated from the Turkish fleet, with field artillery, provisions, money, 400 soldiers, and the commissary of the Turkish fleet. From him it appeared, that they were part of an armament destined for Alexandria, but that their destination was changed at the pressing request of Sir Sydney Smith.

Bonaparte gave orders for another assault ; a division mounted the breach, surprised the outworks, and put those they found there to the sword, but they were obliged to retreat in confusion. The grenadiers again solicited the honour of the assault, which was granted them ; they marched forward, but were so well received by the Anglo-Turks that they were again ordered to retreat. These three attacks cost them near 700 men killed and wounded, with several officers of rank. The space between the two armies was covered with dead bodies and the stench was intolerable.

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Proclamation addressed to the French army.

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## CHAPTER LXIII.

BONAPARTE wrote to the Pacha for a truce, to enable both sides to bury their dead, and demanded an exchange of prisoners; but, as he did not mention the English commander, Dgezzar paid Sir Sydney Smith the compliment of leaving the answer entirely to him. No answer was sent till six days after it had been received; and the bearer of the dispatch carried with him a proclamation.

This proclamation was addressed to the generals, officers, and soldiers of the French army in Egypt. It stated that the Directory had led them into an error by sending them into Egypt, and thus had consigned them to destruction. It tells them that innumerable armies are on their march to overwhelm them, and immense fleets cover the coast: that those who wish to withdraw from the perils that await them must signify their intentions to the commanders of the allied powers, and that they shall be furnished with passports to protect them. It urges them to hasten to accept this favour of the Sublime Porte, and extricate themselves from the abyss into which they have plunged. This was dated at Constantinople, and certified by Sir Sydney Smith, as minister to the king of England.

This proclamation gave great offence, as well as an expression in the answer to the proposal, "Does he not know, asked Sir Sydney, "that it is for me to dispose of the ground that lies under my artillery?"

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Bonaparte announces his return to Egypt.

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Bonaparte received accounts of various insurrections in Egypt, which seemed to be connected with a general system of external attack meditated against the French in Egypt. At Cairo, and other principal towns, tranquillity was not disturbed, but in the provinces of Benishef, Charkie, and Bahere, it was with difficulty these disturbances were quelled, notwithstanding all the activity of the French troops and generals. The most alarming news, however, was, that an English frigate had approached Suez, and it was to be feared that a force might be landed there, which would place the army between two fires; and it was no longer a matter of choice whether the siege should be raised, and the army take the only chance remaining of saving itself. Two months had nearly passed, and the affairs seemed more difficult than ever; indeed, Bonaparte only waited till he could make an excuse to abandon his enterprise: he called in his outposts, and sent forward his sick and wounded; at length he announced his determination to return to Egypt in a proclamation.

He tells them that they have traversed the desert which divides Africa from Asia, with the rapidity of an Arab force; that the army which was on its march to invade Egypt is destroyed; they have taken all the fortified posts which secure the wells of the desert, and dispersed swarms of brigands, collected from all parts of Asia in hopes of plunder; that the thirty ships which they saw enter Acre were destined to attack Alexandria, but were compelled to hasten to the relief of Acre, and that many of their standards will grace their triumphal entry into Egypt; he tells them, that with a handful of men having maintained the war for three months in Syria, and taken or destroyed several fortifications, and made many thousand





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The siege of Acre raised.

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sand prisoners, they must return to Egypt, where the approaching season for landing calls for their presence; that a few days more might give them hopes of taking the Pacha in his palace, but that the castle of Acre is not worth the loss of that time, nor of the men who might fall in the time; that they have yet much to perform, and fresh opportunities of acquiring glory.

On the 20th of May at nine in the evening, the *general* was beat, and the siege, which lasted 60 days, was raised.

In a letter to Lord Nelson, then commanding in the Mediterranean, Sir Sydney ably states the conclusion of the struggle, that the siege was raised on the 20th of May, Bonaparte leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the sea, where, however, it could be got at, and weighed; that his only principle of action seemed to be to press forward, and that he stuck at nothing to obtain the object of his ambition. Sir Sydney states, that two attempts made to assassinate him failed; and that a flag of truce was sent into the town by an Arab dervise, with a letter for the Pacha, proposing a cessation of arms, to bury the dead, the stench from which was dreadful, and equally to be feared by either party; this was agreed to; and while they relied upon its effects, the French threw in a fire of shot and shells, and stormed the town; the garrison were, however, prepared, and the assailants increased the number of the dead; that nothing now remained for them but a retreat, which took place on the night of the 20th; the utmost disorder was manifested in the retreat, and the whole way from Acre to Gaza was strewed with the dead bodies of those who sunk under fatigue, or the effects of slight wounds; that the gun boats annoyed the van of the



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Bonaparte sets out from Cairo.

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envoys, and the atrocities exercised against the  
by the inhabitants of these countries, abundantly  
this terrible retaliation."

was wonderful how a man of honour could declare,  
few subsequent lines, that many of the Egyptians  
named the French as brothers, and that the French  
upon Cairo as a second country!

The Anglo-Turkish forces having frustrated the views  
the General; it was expected they would follow up  
successes; of this he seems to have been aware;  
on his arrival at Cairo, he made arrangements to en-  
the line to protect the sea coast and the Syrian frontier.

The Mamelukes had divided their forces; a party had  
to join Ibrahim Bey, who had returned to Gaza,  
while the other, with Murad Bey, had descended to gain  
the Lakes of Natron, to form a junction with some Arabs  
assembled in that quarter. This march of Murad Bey,  
indicated a design of protecting a descent, either at Abou-  
kir, or at the Tower of the Arabs. To prevent this was  
a point with the French, and many skirmishes took place,  
which terminated in the loss of a few of the French, and  
a number of the enemy. The tribes were scattered, the  
French harassed, and it was easy to see that such a con-  
test must be fatal to an army that could not recruit itself.

Bonaparte set out from Cairo, and advanced towards  
the pyramids of Gizah, where General Murat was to join  
him. His advanced guard pursued the Arabs in the rear  
of Murad Bey, who, that morning, began to ascend to-  
wards Fayum; a few were killed, and several camels  
taken. General Murat pursued Murad Bey for the space  
of five leagues. Bonaparte received news from Alex-  
andria, that a Turkish fleet, of 100 sail, had anchored off

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The Turks land a force at Aboukir.

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Aboukir, and manifested hostile designs on Alexandria. He departed for Gizah, where he made his dispositions; he ordered General Murat to proceed to Rahmanieh. A part of the division of General Lasnes was to cross the Nile and repair to Rahmanieh; and also a part of General Rampon's division. The artillery was also put in motion; and, during the night, all orders and instructions were forwarded with the utmost haste.

Bonaparte wrote to Desaix for a part of his force, and to let General Friant fall into the route of Murad Bey, and follow him with his flying column wherever he went; to supply the fortress of Kench, in Upper Egypt, and that of Gosseir, upon the Red Sea, amply with ammunition and provisions; to leave 100 men in each place; to observe Cairo closely during the expedition against the Turks at Aboukir; and to concert measures with General Dugua, commandant at Cairo, for the security of the French interests in that quarter.

General Kleber was to advance towards Rosetta; leaving a sufficient number of troops to secure Damietta, and the province. General Menou was ordered to place 200 Greeks, with a piece of cannon, in the convents, which it was thought would make excellent places of defence; he was then to join at Rahmanieh with the rest of his column. Bonaparte left Gizah the 16th of July, and arrived on the 19th at Rahmanieh.

Bonaparte heard that the Turkish ships had landed, near the fort of Aboukir about 3000 men, with artillery, and that the garrison surrendered the same day. General Marmont (who commanded at Alexandria) acquainted the General, that Aboukir had surrendered on capitulation; that the Turks were landing their artillery; that

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Bonaparte marches to attack them.

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he had destroyed the pontoons over the strait which joins the lake Madie with the road of Aboukir, and that the Turks were about 15,000 strong.

From this information, Bonaparte sent General Menon to Rosetta with a reinforcement of troops, and to defend the entrance of the Nile. It was thought that the enemy would proceed either against Alexandria or Rosetta; but the General learned, that they were entrenching themselves in the peninsula of Aboukir; that they were forming magazines in the fort, and organizing the Arabs, and that they waited for Mured Bey and his Mamelukes before they advanced. It was, therefore, important to take a position whence he might be attacked with equal advantage, whether he proceeded against Rosetta or invested Alexandria; such a position, that if the enemy remained at Aboukir, they might be attacked and compelled to surrender.

Bonaparte chose a position at the village of Birkit, as one combining those advantages; it is situated at the point of one of the angles of the Lake Madie, and from which he could march with equal facility to Etko, Rosetta, Aboukir, or Alexandria: from which he might, besides confine the enemy to the peninsula of Aboukir, render his communication with the interior more difficult, and entirely intercept the expected reinforcements from the Arabs and the Mamelukes. General Murat, with the cavalry, the dromedaries, the grenadiers, and a battalion, left Rahmanieh in the evening of the 20th of July, to proceed to Birkit. He had orders to communicate with Alexandria, to reconnoitre the enemy at Aboukir, and to advance his patrols as far as Etko. The army took its position at Birkit on the 23d, and miners were sent to clear the wells at Beda. The head quarters

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Dispositions for the attack.

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were removed to Alexandria; the General in Chief passed the night in examining the reports of the situation of the enemy at Aboukir; he despatched three battalions of the garrison of Alexandria, under General Destaing, to reconnoitre, take a position between Alexandria and Aboukir, and clear the adjacent wells. Destaing received intelligence that General Kleber was at Foush, following the route of the army, pursuant to his orders.

Mustapha Pacha, commander of the Turkish army, had landed with about 15,000 men, a large train of artillery, and 100 horses, and he was erecting works and entrenching his force. Bonaparte removed from Alexandria, with the head quarters, to a position near General Destaing's station, and the wells between Alexandria and Aboukir. The cavalry under General Murat, and two divisions, were to follow immediately to the same station; they arrived on the morning of the 25th, with a corps of 400 cavalry, from Upper Egypt; the army began to move; the advanced guard was commanded by General Murat, who had 400 cavalry, with General Destaing, and three battalions, with two field pieces. The division of General Lasnes formed the right wing, and that of General Lamusse the left; General Kleber was to form the reserve. The train of artillery, escorted by a squadron of horse, followed the main body of the army. General Davoust, with two squadrons of horse, and 100 dromedaries, was to take a position between Alexandria and the army, to oppose the Arabs and Murad Bey, who was hourly expected, and to secure the communication with Alexandria. Orders were sent to General Menou to take a position at the entrance of Lake Madie, on the side of Aboukir, to cannonade any vessels of the enemy

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**The French attack the Turks.**

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that might be on the lake, and attempt to harass the army on that side.

Mustapha Pacha had his first line half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir; about 1000 men occupied his right, supported by a village, occupied by 1200 men, with four pieces of cannon. The left wing, about 2000 men, with six pieces of cannon, was in front of the first line; this position was to protect the wells near Aboukir. Some gunboats were stationed to protect the space between this position and the second line. The Pacha's second position was in the rear of the village, his centre in and about the redoubt, which he took at first landing. Eighty horsemen were the suite of the Pacha who commanded, and the Turkish squadron was at anchor in the road, at a small distance.

The advanced guard came near the enemy, and commenced firing. Bonaparte made his dispositions for the attack. Desteing, with his three battalions, was ordered to carry the height on the right of the enemy, which was occupied by about 1000 men; while a piquet of cavalry were to cut off the retreat of this body to the village. General Lasnes was to advance against the left of the enemy's line, where 2000 men and six pieces of cannon were stationed: two squadrons of horse were to watch this corps, and endeavour to cut off its retreat. The rest of the cavalry were to advance against the centre, and the division of General Lannuse was to remain in the second line.

General Desteing charged the enemy with the bayonet; they retreated towards the village, but the greater part were cut down by the cavalry. The corps on the left seeing that on the right gave way, attempted to retire after discharging a few cannon shot; but the ca-

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The Turks make a gallant resistance.

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valry and a platoon of guides cut off its retreat, and either killed or drove the whole into the sea. General Destaing then marched against the village; this post he turned while it was attacked in front. The Turks made a spirited resistance; a number were detached to the relief of the village; but they were charged by the cavalry, who drove the greater part of them into the sea. The village was speedily carried, and its defenders pursued to the redoubt, in the centre of the second position. This was a very strong post, it was flanked by a work which covered the peninsula to the sea; another work extended to the left, the rest of the space was occupied by Mustapha's troops, who were on the sand-hills and in groves of palm-trees.

Several pieces of artillery were planted at the village, and a fire was opened on the enemy's right and on the redoubt; General Destaing's battalions formed the centre, and fronted the redoubt; they were ordered to advance. General Fugieres had orders to march along the shore, and force, by the bayonet, the right wing of the Turks. The cavalry, on the right of the army, charged the enemy several times with great impetuosity: but they could not advance without being placed to the fire of the gunboats; they were obliged to fall back, while the ranks of the Turks were supplied by fresh troops.

The Turks stood the French artillery with the greatest courage, and their resistance only encouraged their opponents to new attacks. The French cavalry rushed to the very fosse of the redoubt, and though the soldiers looked on this affair as a forlorn hope, they seemed determined to do all the mischief they could before they died. The struggle was long and dreadful; the Turks made a sortie from the right, and engaged man to man;







*Drawn & Engraved by Jas: Wallis.*

*London, Pub. Feb. 17. 1815. by Rich<sup>d</sup>. Evans, White row. Spitalfields.*

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Mustapha Pacha taken prisoner.

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they strove to grasp the bayonets from the French, flung their own muskets behind them and fought with sabre and pistol. The French darted into the entrenchments, where they soon suffered death, while Turks darted on them to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, to get the silver aigrette which their government gives to every soldier who brings the head of an enemy.

Troops were ordered to advance upon the enemy's left. The redoubt was forced, and during that moment General Murat ordered the cavalry to charge and break through the positions of the enemy. This was executed with such vigour, that the cavalry were ready to cut off the enemy's retreat to the fort; the route of the Turks was complete; the infantry charged them with the bayonet, and the cavalry cut them down with the sabre; thousands committed themselves to the sea, and few survived, as the ships were too far distant for many to reach them. Mustapha Pacha, commander-in-chief of the Turkish army, was made prisoner with a number of his troops, and upwards of 2000 killed. The fort of Aboukir did not fire a shot; it was proposed to the garrison, 1200 men, to surrender; many refused, and the day was spent in parleying. Many French officers died of their wounds. In the night the Turkish squadron communicated with the shore; the garrison was re-organized, and defended the fort, and the French erected batteries for its reduction.

The fort was summoned to surrender. The son of the Pacha and the officers were willing to capitulate, but the soldiers refused. The bombardment was continued; several batteries were erected, some gun-boats were sunk and a frigate was dismasted and forced to put to sea. The besieged, who wanted provisions, got into the village, which joined the works. General Lasnes advanc-

ed to attack them, but was severely wounded. General Menou succeeded him in the command of the siege.

The besieged were in great want of provisions, yet they threw down their arms and surrendered at discretion. The son of the Pacha, the Kiaya, and the Governor, were made prisoners. This victory had a direct tendency to establish the French dominion in Egypt, by shewing the dreadful consequences of opposing them; but they were rapidly wasting, and as they had no means of recruiting their strength, a victory which cost a few hundreds of men, was equal to a defeat. The General saw he was likely to be attacked on every side, and that he could not strengthen one frontier without weakening another; from the prisoners taken at Aboukir he learned, the English had penetrated his design of co-operating with Tippoo, and had overthrown that monarch, and siezed all his territories, by which the power of France in the East Indies was perfectly annihilated. Egypt now lost its value, and the mind of Bonaparte retired within itself. He looked upon none as his friends but those who soothed him with flattery. He saw but few persons; Berthier and Menou seemed to have most of his confidence. It was easy to see that he was conscious of having failed; but, though he looked on the expedition as having miscarried, he would not believe that any other person's views met his own.

The intercourse between France and Egypt was cut off by the English cruizers; and the Allies kept the two countries ignorant of each other's situation. It became evident to the British Government from these despatches and letters, that Bonaparte could not maintain himself in the new settlement.

A division of the Spanish fleet in Carthagena was join-

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Conspiracy against the Executive Directory.

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ed by the French in spite of the combined vigilance of the British admirals; they sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar, and anchored at Cadiz, before the British admiral had information of their movements, or the junction they effected. They made a total of 47 sail of the line, and actually anchored in Brest water. This naval expedition seemed to threaten a desperate stroke against Britain, though it terminated in nothing but parade. The people of France thought that such a fleet would convey reinforcement to the armies, capture the fleet of Lord St. Vincent before Cadiz, or destroy the British and Russian ships before Palermo; but the Directory did not make the attempt.

The conduct of the Directory had caused such dissatisfaction that its destruction was premeditated, and the time for accomplishing it at last arrived.

The leaders of the conspiracy against the Executive Power, were Lucien Bonaparte, Francois de Nantes, and Boulay de la Meturthe, whose aim was to throw out three of the members as unqualified: these men were marked by the Directory as objects of vengeance; this did not escape their observation, so that they viewed their lives in continual danger, except when seated in the councils, sheltered by their inviolability.

So great was the opposition of the Councils that they were hourly obtaining converts, and the contending parties secured such means of defence as might render them victorious, should the difference require to be settled by force of arms. The Directory had a guard *ex officio*, and the troops in and about Paris were subject to their authority; but the latter were gained over. The officers gained possession of the military school without much

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 Change in the Members of the Directory.
 

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opposition, and became masters of all the engines of destruction, which the Directory might have turned against them. It was demanded, that three of the Directors, Merlin, Treilhard, and Lepeaux, should resign; three days were required by the Directory to return their answer. The Council had two of the members (Barras and Sieyès) on their side, and laboured to procure the majority as the easiest mode of securing their object. But the three members of the Directory were inflexible, considering that constitution as their safeguard which they did not scruple to violate.

It was found that Treilhard had ceased to be a legislator on the 30th Floreal, and was elected a director on the 26th of the same month next year, which made his directorship unconstitutional; this he acknowledged, and without any struggle, voluntarily resigned his seat. His place was filled by one Gohier, minister of justice. Merlin and Lepeaux left the Luxembourg loaded with curses and execrations, Roger Ducos and Moulins were their successors; the former was a legislator with whom the people were little acquainted, and the latter made a staff-officer during the reign of terror.

The Archduke had 90,000 men, beside the army of observation, under General Suwarrow, between the Danube and the frontiers of the Tyrol, which was 20,000 strong; the Russians amounted to about 45,000, which, with the forces under other Generals, amounted to 300,000 men, destined against the frontiers of France! No efforts were used to conceal the danger of the state; the Republic had no more than 195,000 men to bring into the field, exclusive of the troops of the Batavian Republic, which amounted to about 20,000. It was resolved to raise the

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Cardinal Ruffo attacks Naples.

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army to 500,000 men, from every class of the conscription.

By official calculations it was stated that no less than 550,000 men would be ready for action in three months. To make these forces effectual, it was proposed to form the national guard, of which some were to be employed in the interior, and to reinforce the towns and forts upon the frontiers; and a small part soon reached the armies of Moreau and Massena.

The retreat from Naples was followed by scenes shocking to humanity. Cardinal Ruffo having the command, was at the gates of the city with a force which he had collected in Calabria, and was joined by 2000 British and 500 Russian troops. The Republicans took refuge in the forts, that they might obtain an honourable capitulation; they were attacked, but the Royalists were repulsed. Ten days afterward the Cardinal sent a flag of truce to such as were in the Castello Nevo, and to those who were in Fort St. Elmo. This last place capitulated with Cardinal Ruffo, who assumed the designation of *Vicar of the King of Naples*. It was agreed, "That the members of "the government and the patriots in the fortresses, as "well as the French garrison, and the national troops, "should march out with the honours of war, with arms "and baggage, and should be conducted to Toulon." But as no dependence was to be placed on a Catholic, the besieged were not to evacuate St. Elmo till every article was performed by the conquerors. The Republicans were detained in the roads 17 days from contrary winds, during which time they experienced no molestation; but the British fleet, under Lord Nelson appeared before Naples, and blocked up the ships appointed to carry the

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 Severity of the King of Naples.
 

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Republicans to Toulon and the King arrived attended by two British ships of the line. He published a manifesto, declaring that a negotiation with rebels was done without his authority. He reversed all that was done by Cardinal Ruffo, and several of the Republican party were hanged, and their houses given up to plunder.

; The Prince of Stigliano and the Duke of Caracciolo were beheaded, and nineteen ladies of distinction, and a number of officers and ecclesiastics were hanged. The court was ashamed, but the bloody deeds cannot be denied. The cardinal protested against violating the articles of capitulation, and produced a letter from the prime minister, which gave him authority to grant the conditions upon which their surrender was obtained. Thousands were thrown into prison, and the tribunal executed the royal mandate with bloody punctuality. The Cardinal was deprived of his office as Viceroy by those who imagined that the nod of the sovereign was sufficient to screen the worst of crimes.

General Macdonald determined to evacuate Tuscany, and retreat into the territory of Genoa. His army was much weakened. The combined powers reinforced Tuscany immediately after his departure. General Klenau entered Florence; the people having effaced every mark of the Republican constitution, re-established their ancient government, a proof that the French power was not so mild as they represented it. General Macdonald finished his retreat, being obliged to leave or destroy his heavy artillery, camp equipage, and the remains of the rich spoils of Italy, his army being reduced to 14,000 men. Suwarrow directed his march against General Moreau, who retreated further into the Ligurian Republic.

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Mantua surrenders to the Allies.

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Alexandria was besieged by the combined forces under General Bellegarde, as Suwarrow considered its reduction necessary to his future operations. General Gardanne was summoned to surrender, but refused; but at length, after 210 pieces of cannon were opened on it, he found it useless to contend longer, and the garrison, to the amount of 2000 men, surrendered prisoners of war. Suwarrow fixed his head-quarters at Alexandria; he then invested Coni, and despatched General Haddick with 12,000 men to reach the Vallais. The capture of Mantua was in the estimation of Suwarrow of the last importance, as it would enable him to send reinforcements to the Archduke in return for those formerly sent to him. Nothing was left undone to reduce Mantua, and 600 pieces of cannon and mortars were to act against it; the army was reinforced, and the people for forty miles round were compelled to assist at the works; the garrison was 10,000 men. The trenches were opened, and when it was perceived, the fire from the city became extremely brisk. General Kray carried some of the out-works, and sent a capitulation, which was accepted, and the keys of Mantua were delivered to him. In two days the garrison marched out, and laid down their arms in the glacis. This surrender was of the greatest consequence to the combined powers.

Massena made many attempts against the Archduke's army in the small cantons, as he was assured it had been weakened by reinforcing Haddick and Bellegarde: a number of actions took place, but no advantage was gained by either party. On the 14th of July an attempt was made by General Hotze on the right of the French army. Little was accomplished by these attacks more than had formerly been achieved by the French, only the lat-



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Massena attacks the Archduke.

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ter reckoned among the prisoners the Imperial General, Count de Bey. This was the first operation of the Archduke which could be called offensive, and had a connection with others preparing in the Upper Vallais, where the inhabitants were in arms to espouse the cause of the Combined Powers.

The French Commander found it necessary to rest his army, that it might meet a fresh body of Russians advancing towards Swabia, under General Rimsi Korsakow; Massena fortified his right wing, under General Lecourbe, taking care not to weaken his centre before Zurich, nor his left. On the 12th of August Massena attacked the Archduke's position with the left wing of his army, near Baden. Next day, in a fog, he sent a column across the Limmat, which carried one of the main guards, and entered the camp of the cavalry. The republicans pushed forward, and penetrated to the rear of the Archduke's line.

The French were taken in flank by two batteries, and found it necessary to act on the defensive. The Swiss of both parties were engaged, and attacked each other with the most determined fury. Massena withdrew to the left side of the Limmat, and the centres of the contending armies resumed their former positions. The columns of the French right, amounting to about 80,000 men, directed their march against the chief posts of the Austrians.

Lecourbe proceeded up the Lake of Lucerne, to contribute to the attack upon Altorf, which he committed to General Person. Some of the troops for this expedition took the route to Seedorf, and the remainder to Attinghausen, where some bloody engagements were fought, and at Fluelen, near the chapel of William Tell. General Simpschen evacuated Altorf in the evening, and re-

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The French attack the Post of the Devil's Bridge.

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treated when he had destroyed the bridges on the Reuss. General Loison reached Wasen, after a difficult march across quantities of ice and snow.

General Lecourbe determined to ascend the Reuss, and get before General Loison. He continued his route, and as he thought it impracticable to turn the passage of the Pierced Rock, he resolved to force the passage of the Devil's Bridge, across the Reuss, twenty miles south of Altorf. He attacked the Austrians by four in the noon, who fell back to their entrenchments at the Devil's Bridge, flanked by the torrents of the Reuss and inaccessible mountains. The French were at the head of the bridge, and pursued the Austrians, expecting to pass it along with them, but the bridge gave way, and a chasm of fifty feet obliged them to return, exposed to a tremendous fire from the opposite side. The bridge was repaired during the night, and on the next morning General Gaudin appeared on the right of it, having descended by the valley of Urseren. The Austrians resisted the Republicans with the most determined bravery.

Lecourbe was master of St. Gothard and the whole course of the Reuss in forty-eight hours, when General Turreau's division drove the Austrians beyond the Sempelen with great loss. The Austrian army began to rally on the mountains of Crispalt, from whence they could easily descend into the valley of the Rhine; and they blocked up the entrance into the Grisons by the sources of that river. As General Lecourbe thought that the Austrians would strengthen themselves in this position, he marched after their junction towards the Lake of Ober Alp, and carried the difficult defile on the way to Disentis, defended by three battalions of Kerpen. This engagement was very sanguinary, the hostile generals

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 Suwarrow presses the Siege of Tortona.
 

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charged at the head of their respective columns; the regiment of Kerpen was at last compelled to yield to the Republicans, and only a small part of it made good its retreat to Disentis.

The Archduke prepared to strengthen his left wing, and brought up the first Russian columns to be engaged without being permitted to rest. To draw the attention of Massena on the left, he began to construct two bridges, but the rocky bottom of the Aar rendered this measure impracticable. The first division of the Russians, under General Hotze, marched upon Regespurg on the 19th to stop the progress of the French.

Both sides were now preparing to act with more vigour than ever. Suwarrow, in Italy, would leave no place behind him unoccupied, and get possession of the flat country; he pressed the siege of Tortona, blockaded Coni, and kept a watchful eye on the Republican posts at the entrance of the defiles of the Appenines. General Klenau made himself master of Sarzana, Fort Lerici, and all the positions on the Gulph of Spezzia, where the Republicans were already masters of Fort St. Maria. All parts of the allied army began to concentrate, when the arrival of the army under General Kray was expected; and the capture of the citadel of Tortona was to be the signal of future operations.

Joubert was to descend the Appenines, to bring Suwarrow to engage him which was to be favoured by some corps of the army of the Alps, now commanded by Championnet, who had baffled all the calumnies of the old Directory. Massena, in Switzerland, was to engage the left wing of the Austrian army, and force it to abandon the small cantons and St. Gothard, to force the Archduke to come to the aid of General Stzarray, or prevent

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General Joubert mortally wounded.

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him from receiving reinforcements by the way of Swabia. This formed the plan of attack from Schaffhausen to the Mediterranean.

The Republicans made an attack on the troops under General Bellegarde, who were in possession of Trezzo and Bestanga before Aquì. General Joubert was determined to follow the course of the mountains, and march directly against Tortona. This Suwarrow could not prevent, unless he could drive the Republican army from their position, which he resolved to attempt without loss of time, and commenced his attack on the 16th of August. The right wing, under General Kray, began the bloody action, who directed all his force against the left wing of the French, where General Joubert commanded.

This gallant officer was mortally wounded, while heading and animating the infantry by his presence, who were enthusiastically exclaiming, "Forward! forward!" and General Joubert, to whose military talents and character every party in France did justice, exclaimed with his expiring breath, "Forward! forward!" Novi, nine miles from Tortona, was attempted to be turned by General Kray, and attacked in front by the Russian commander, Bagration; but their united assaults were ineffectual, when Derfelden and Melas were commanded to attack, the one by the road of Novi, and the other by the left side of the Scrivia; this proved abortive, since the Russian commander, Derfelden, found he could not gain the heights to the left of Novi.

All were now closely engaged, and the slaughter was prodigious. General Kray was driven back about three in the afternoon with great loss; this determined Suwarrow to attack the heights of Novi with the forces under Derfelden, Bagration, and Milloradewitch; but such was

the opposition of the Republicans, that they could not be made to abandon their position. The centre of the combined army was nearly annihilated by the charges of the French, which were sustained by Saurrows with that ferocious kind of courage for which he was remarkable through life. Moreau took the chief command after the death of Joubert, and distinguished himself by his personal bravery.

General Melas, with the left wing, reached the first heights of Novi, on the side of Bettola; with the division of Frolich he engaged the right flank of the French, when General Laisignan was wounded and made prisoner. The Prince of Lichtenstein was ordered to take possession of whatever points he might deem of advantage. Melas attacked the post of Novi at five in the evening—a post which had caused the effusion of so much blood, and which Moreau had reinforced to cover his retreat, which he now saw was inevitable; but which he did not accomplish till he was nearly surrounded. The communication with Gavi was cut off by the Prince of Lichtenstein, so that the French army could only retreat by Orada.

The retreat was conducted with considerable order; but the road being blocked up by the artillery in passing through Pasturano, the rear-guard was thrown into confusion, and pursued by General Karackzy. Violent efforts were made to rally the rear-guard, but without effect, and night alone finished the conflict.

The battle of Novi left 25,000 men dead upon the field, including both sides, and the victory was not decisive till Melas had turned the right wing of the French army.

The French army was pursued by General Karackzy, who became master of the field artillery left at Pasturano.

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*Tortona surrenders to Suwarrow.*

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Moreau took possession of the Red Mountain, to favour his retreat; and the Republican army rallied and resumed its former positions. Moreau repaired to Genoa, and urged Championnet to take upon him the command of the army. The victory of Novi was ascribed to Melas by General Suwarrow, which will do honour to his memory, as it proves he knew how to give military merit its just tribute of applause; yet the part he took in the battle was thought so highly honourable, that his sovereign conferred on him the surname *Italisky* upon the occasion.

The citadel of Tortona agreed to a capitulation, so that the place should not be given up for ten days from its surrender, unless it should be relieved during that period. The situation of Genoa was more alarming; and Klenau, who was master of Fort St. Maria, and Sistri-di-Livante, proceeded on that side, while Admiral Nelson blockaded the port. A famine was experienced by the inhabitants; but the French did not abandon this unfortunate city during the wars in Italy.

The affairs of Switzerland made the commander in chief send reinforcements to that quarter. The first column of Russians, under General Rosenberg, took the route by Novarra, intending to pass St. Gothard by the way of Bellinzone. We may suppose that Moreau had notice of this movement, for he left his position the next day, at the head of 25,000 men, divided into three columns, the first of which was directed against Acqui, and the two others against Novi and Serravalla. Kray met him with his left and part of the centre division, a desperate engagement took place, which ended in the defeat of the Republicans, and Moreau resumed his former positions. The citadel of Tortona surrendered to

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General Moreau appointed to command the French Army.

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Suwarrow on the 11th of September, who having expressed his gratitude to the Austrian generals, set out for Switzerland with the Russian rear-guard.

Suwarrow's army in Italy did not exceed 20,000, although it had a reinforcement of about 10,000 men in the beginning of July. The army on its march was joined by Suwarrow, who made every preparation for an attack upon St. Gothard, and to join the Imperial commanders, Auffenberg and Jellachich, who were masters of the frontiers of the Grisons and the small cantons, opposite to the advanced guards of General Lecourbe.

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#### CHAPTER LXIV.

THE troops to form the army of the Rhine, were to be commanded by General Moreau, but were under General Muller, until he arrived. Muller's head-quarters were at Mannheim on the 25th of August, his advanced guard moving to Heidelberg and Schewetzingen. He issued a manifesto to the army, ordering them to regard property which had been too often violated; and this was followed by one to the inhabitants, urging them to beware of taking up arms against the Republicans, if they wished to find them friends. He then proceeded to Schewetzingen, and from thence to Wisloch, and forced the hussars, under General Szechler, to abandon Heidelberg, of which he instantly took possession.

When the Archduke was acquainted with the movements of the Republicans in Swabia, he sent eight battalions of Austrian infantry, part of whom took the route to Villengen, and the remainder by the way of the Bris-

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*The Militia join the Austrian Army.*

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gaw. This aid was the more important by the rising of the peasants and the land-sturm, to which they had been invited by the Elector of Mentz, who urged them to defend their own houses against the common enemy. The Baron d'Albini was at the head of the land-sturm, and the armed peasants uniting with the Austrian troops, defeated the Republicans in the vicinity of Seligenstadt: The Elector gave them the pay of soldiers, which he would continue till it was prudent to disband them.

The Austrians thus received such force as they had before solicited in vain; and the courage of the country people was equal to their terror on a former occasion, and produced about 30,000 men. This new-raised army crossed the Maine at Frankfort, and menaced the city of Mentz.

The territory of the Landgrave of Darmstadt was respected, while he was faithful to his stipulations, and strengthened the garrison of Darmstadt to preserve neutrality. Muller found he had 18,000 men, with them he invested Philippsburgh, and had a bridge of boats from Mentz, to secure his retreat. On the 7th he bombarded Philippsburgh, which was defended by the Rhingrave of Salm and an Austrian garrison.

Prince Charles had his head-quarters at Donawschingen, from whence General Stzarray proceeded to the relief of Philippsburgh. This was meant to protect Swabia, and check the progress of the French on the right of the Rhine; but, though the Allies were successful during the campaign, they could not rise above the narrow spirit that had been fatal to them during the whole war; in place of sending new supplies to meet the French, they strengthened one frontier by weakening another. General Kray received orders to retrograde with the



Expedition against Holland prepared.

division under his command ; this, with the Russian auxiliaries in Switzerland, those of the Prince of Condé, and the Imperial army under the Archduke in Swabia, formed a great barrier on the Rhine ; but the forces of Mèlas were unable to make a stand, much less to act offensively against the increasing French army.

An expedition was concerted between England and Russia, and the command given to Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Twelve battalions and some cavalry were collected at Southampton. It was perhaps impossible to keep this matter entirely a secret ; but it was well known to the French government before it was ripe for execution. The points of attack were however concealed : various were the places pointed out as the objects of its destination. Zealand seemed to be threatened, and the mouths of the Meuse and Scheldt ; while others thought the Russians would enter by the Weser and the Ems into West Friesland and Groningen. This opinion was confirmed by forming magazines at Bremen, and having the officers of the former Dutch government meet at Lingen. Admiral Mitchell sailed from the Downs with about 130 transports, containing the first division of the army : the second was commanded by the Duke of York, as Generalissimo ; but to remain at Margate till news arrived of the first division having landed. This army of the Duke of York was about 45,000 men, British and Russians. The naval force of the Dutch at that time was nine sail of the line, under Admiral Story, at the Texel. Brune was the commander-in-chief ; and he provided for the defence of Zealand, where he expected the attack would be made. On the 19th of August the British fleet appeared on the coast of North Holland. Admiral Story was summoned to surrender, and acknow-

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**The Dutch fleet hoists the Orange Flag.**

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ledge the Prince of Orange as supreme of the country : he refused to comply, as did also the officer in command at the Helder, when summoned by General Abercrombie. Next morning the grenadiers and light infantry were landed ; General Daendel's came up with and engaged them. The British vanguard was successful : their loss, however, was about 1000 killed and wounded.

The British fleet entered the Texel, and got possession of the anchorage, to which Admiral Story had retired. Admiral Mitchell commanded him to hoist the Orange flag. Story gave the signal to prepare for action, when the crews threw the cartridges and balls into the sea. Story declared himself and his officers prisoners of war, after condemning his different crews, and protesting his attachment to the Republic. The orange flag was hoisted by the Dutch fleet ; several vessels, besides those under Story, were captured in the Texel. General Abercrombie asked for a passport to send General Don as plenipotentiary to the Hague ; but this was refused, and he was desired to state his wishes in writing.

Troops under General Dumoneau marched through Amsterdam, while others filed off towards Alkmaer by way of Egmont : all the inhabitants were in arms, and the complement raised generally exceeded the requisition by three or four times the number. General Brune pushed on the French and Batavian division as near as possible to the advanced guard of the British. No supplies had arrived from England, except about 5000 men under General Don. The Russians had gone to Yarmouth, and were detained by contrary winds, as also were the cavalry, and the Duke of York and General Abercrombie had about 17,000 men, while Brune's army

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The Duke of York arrives at the Texel.

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was increased to 25,000, and reinforcements were on their march from the Low Countries.

The Republicans marched to attack the British: the contest was furious: the right wing was thrown into disorder by the Orangists among them shouting out, "Save who can, we are surrounded!" This induced the greater part of Daendel's army to betake themselves to flight. They resumed their former position; and General Brune commanded the authors of the route to be tried by a court martial.

The Duke of York sailed from Yarmouth the day the last mentioned battle was fought. The Prince of Orange made a feigned attack on two points of Overijssel, distant from each other: he summoned Coevorden, and marched on to Arnheim; but his endeavours were ineffectual and his manifesto procured no persons to join him; he therefore left that neighbourhood to join the army of the Duke of York.

General Brune kept General Abercrombie confined in his strong position: a severe action took place, when the British were obliged to abandon their lines; at this moment the Duke of York arrived at the Texel, and disembarked his troops. Thirteen thousand Russians arrived in two days afterwards, who were ordered to take post on the right of the line.

The combined army amounted to 35,000 men. His Royal Highness was induced to attack the French before it received the expected reinforcements from the Low Countries: the battle commenced on the 19th of September, at dawn of day, along the whole line. The Russians forced Vandamme's division to retreat, and advanced to within half a league of Alkmaer; but having

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Desperate battles between the French and English.

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pushed too far, they were suddenly attacked on both flanks. Vandamme engaged the Russians with the bayonet, and retook the village of Bergen. The Russians fought like men in despair: their general, Herman, was made prisoner; and General Essen, second in command, desperately wounded. General Daendels fought honorably most of the day, till he was obliged to abandon his position with great loss. The combined army took its former position at the Zyp; this enabled General Brune to re-occupy the posts he had before the engagement.

About seventy French gun-boats having arrived from Dunkirk by the canals, the entrance from the Zuyder-Zee to Amsterdam was to be defended. The hostile armies were every day more formidable, each receiving reinforcements. A rear guard of Russians of more than 2000 men landed, and a French demi-brigade marched through Amsterdam to Alkmaer.

The Duke of York attacked the enemy on the 2d of October, in which he was successful. There was much hard fighting, and great opposition, but the British were at length victorious. When they had defeated the French and Dutch, they threatened Amsterdam, from which they were at no great distance with their left; the armies rested for two days, but on the third the enemy's line was attacked by the Duke of York. Some advantages were gained in the second attack by the British and Russians; but fortune changed, and Brune charged them with his cavalry, and broke their line, and drove them back with great loss. The battle raged till evening. The Duke of York called a council of war, when it was resolved to wait the ultimatum of his Britannic Majesty. The Anglo Russians abandoned several places

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The British Army evacuate Holland.

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after destroying the dock yards, East-India Company's vessels, and all public property that came in their way. The ships of war and their crews were sent to England! Daendels closed upon their rear, and occupied the post they were obliged to abandon. Dumonceau gained possession of the Zee-dyke, in which the British had made an opening of 19 feet, a defence they were forced to make.

The Duke of York sent a flag of truce to General Brune, to capitulate, and Generals Knox and Rostellan were to draw up the articles. His Royal Highness wrote that hostilities had ceased, and that the combined troops were to return to their countries without molestation: this was owing to the Duke of York having kept possession of the dykes, so that he could have inundated the country. The loss of the British and Russians was estimated at 15,000 killed and wounded.

To balance this affair, Surinam, the last of the Dutch colonies of value, fell into the hands of the English without opposition.

Muller encamped before Mannheim, on the north side of the Neckar river, after his artillery and baggage had passed the Rhine. The troops divided when they reached the Rhine; 6000 men going north, by the way of Mentz, while another division took the route to Spires and Germesheim, five miles from Philipsburgh. A rear guard of 6000 men, under General Laroche, continued entrenched at Mannheim. The Archduke collected about 25,000 men in the plains of the Neckar, on the 16th of September, and attacked the enemy with the forces of Stzarry and Kospeth. These were driven back at first; but a second assault decided the contest, and a redoubt on the right side of the Neckar was carried, and all the entrenchments.

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*General Suwarrow enters Switzerland*

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As the artillery of the Austrians had taken positions on the banks of the river, which commanded the bridge of boats, the Republicans could not make good their retreat; the gates of Seckenheim were forced open and more than one half of Laroche's division were made prisoners, after losing nearly the whole of the remainder. Successful here, the Archduke went to Schwetzingen, than which no place was oftener taken and retaken during the war. Both sides of the Maine were in the possession of the Archduke. The head-quarters of the militia furnished by Mentz was at Hochst; and every exertion was employed to hasten the arrival of pontoons, to cross the Rhine, the Archduke collecting the Austrian army and that of the empire.

As it seemed uncertain where his Royal Highness would attempt the passage of the Rhine; and as Muller could not understand his designs, he protected Mentz, fixed his head-quarters at Dorkheim, 18 miles from Mentz, and declined all communication with the posts on the right side of the river.

† Suwarrow gained the post of Airolo, at the entrance of St. Gothard, on the 17th of September, and the next day got possession of the pass of St. Gothard. Auffenberg descended with the troops under his command into the valley of the Reuss, to join Suwarrow at Steig. The entrance of this old warrior into Switzerland was admirably executed, and was the more remarkable, as his officers and men were not much used to fight among mountains.

Hotze commanded the Austrian troops in Switzerland, consisting of twenty-nine battalions, and four regiments of cavalry. Having been forced to evacuate Glaris and Nessels, he took an advantageous position behind the Linth, while his left wing covered the entrance into

the Grisons. The Russians extended along the lake of Zurich, and the Limmat, a distance of about 25 miles. General Turreau, with a part of Massena's army, was on the right of Vallais; Lecourbe was at St. Gothard, before the arrival of Suwarrow; Soult was at Glaris with his division; General Martin's division from that place to Dietikon, and that of General Lorges from thence to Baden. The republican army amounted to 64,000 men, exclusive of 8000 in the Vallais, and 6000 in Basil on the Rhine, both distant from the scene of action. After the arrival of Suwarrow the Combined Army amounted to about 89,000 men.

Lecourbe gained advantages over the enemy, and Massena pressed upon their left wing, that he might effectually attack their centre. Lecourbe advanced by the valley of the Grisons which defended the line of General Hotze. The Republican Chief prepared for a general action; and the news of Suwarrow's progress made him hasten his plans, to prevent the enemy from acting the same scenes on his right wing, which he was meditating against the left of the Combined Army. The position of Hotze was highly advantageous; and Massena determined, if possible, to make him abandon it at the commencement of the battle, to cut off his communication with General Jellochich, and prevent his junction with Suwarrow by the cantons of Schweitz and Glaris. For this purpose, Massena feigned a variety of movements in the Frickthal and on the Aar; and when he had engaged the attention of the Allies by a false attack against Bruck, on the Aar, General Lorges was ordered to pass the Limmat above Baden, and engage the Russians on the opposite bank.

The division of Mortier, and the reserve, under Klein, marched on to the heights of Regesburg, westward of

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The Republicans defeat the Allies.

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Zurich, and made their attack in front. When the action was to commence, Soult was to cross the Limmat, and engage the advanced posts of the Imperialists. This attack threw Hotze into consternation; when hearing that the French had passed the Limmat, he, with a few officers in his train, proceeded to reconnoitre between Schennis and Kaltbrun, where his temerity was fatal to him, for his party was surrounded, and he remained dead on the field of battle. This was a great loss to the Combined Powers at present, as his skill was equal to his courage, and his death gave much pain to the Allies. Born at Zurich, he was perfectly acquainted with that difficult country, and perished almost at home.

The Republic followed up these advantages with their usual perseverance. They gained the bridge of Grinaw, at the entrance of the Linth into the lake of Zurich. This was retaken by the Prince of Württemberg, but he could not maintain it against the French, after the loss of General Hotze. The Prince's division was defeated by Soult. The left wing, under Petrasch, after the fall of Hotze, was separated from the centre, and the left flank and rear unprotected. Every post was carried by General Lorges, the camp of the Russians was forced, and they driven back to the walls of Zurich. Mortier and Klein carried the western heights with uncommon bravery; and the Russians defended them with such fury, that the number of slain was prodigious. The Republicans were victorious, and gained the whole of the enemy's baggage and artillery. The rear guard in Zurich refused to surrender, which place was carried by the French sword in hand.

The Republicans being masters of Zurich and both sides of the lakes, continued to pursue the Russians and Aus-



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The Allies retreat across the Mountains.

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trians on the east by St. Gall, on the north by Schaffhausen; nor could the Allies rally, or take any positions on the Thur; but crossed the Rhine, and placed the Lake of Constance between them and the Republicans. The French took possession of Constance and Peterhausen. Suwarrow forced back the troops of Gaudin as far as Altorf, but he was stopped by Loison and others, who were detached for that purpose, by Lecourbe. He meant to penetrate the right wing of the French army, to march into the canton of Zurich, and making the left wing of Massena fall back, to collect before him the corps which had been defeated.

Massena set out to assist Lecourbe with 15,000 men. Marshal Linken gained some advantages near the lake of Wallenstadt, took two Republican battalions, and tried to favour Suwarrow by the centre; but not being able to carry on a communication with his right or left wing, he withdrew into the Grisons. Suwarrow advanced no farther than Brunnen, two miles southwest of Schwitz, when it appeared to him that he had ventured too far, and would not hazard a general action. Had he pushed on to Einsindin, he could not avoid the snare laid for him by Massena, who could have cut off his retreat from the Grisons.

.. The Allies did not make this retreat without great loss, owing to the passes across the mountains, and the rapid movements of their pursuers. Their rear-guard was almost cut to pieces by the troops of Massena, and their wounded, which was immense, could not be transported. Their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the Republicans, and the Russian general had a narrow escape of being made prisoner.

Massena gave orders to Soult to march against Rhei-

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The Archduke holds a Council of War.

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neck at the head of the Lake of Constance, to secure his right flank, and stop the Austrian forces under General Potrasch, which had crossed the Rheinthal, and retreated to Feldkirch and Bregentz. He passed along the army headed in person the divisions before Zurich, and met the Allies on the 7th of October, between the Thur and the Rhine, which they were obliged to recross; after their advanced posts were defeated. Constance was taken no less than three times in one day, and at last remained with the French. One half of Switzerland, all the Eastern part between the Russ and the Rhine, formed the great theatre of action; in the space of ninety miles there was not one pass that was not disputed by pitched battles.

The Archduke, on heading the battle of Zurich, marched with the greater part of the troops, leaving a sufficient force to cover Philipsburg. The Prince held a council of war at Donaueschingen on the 4th of October, and a few days afterwards the forces of Austria entered Upper Swabia and the frontiers of Switzerland. The Archduke ordered General Nauendorf to take a position in Upper Swabia, and observe the side of the Brigaw. And Suwarrow took the route down the Rheinthal to Feldkirch, and met the Russian generals at Lindau. St. Gothard was retaken by the French, who threatened to capture the head-quarters at Coire.

## CHAPTER LXV.

EUROPE had been spilling her best blood, without being able to ascertain any means by which peace could be obtained. The Allies were by no means united, and the French were tranquil, though far from settled. Peace was desirable to all parties, but the cabinets seemed cursed by such a spirit of blindness that none could discern its true interest. Such was the case whilst Bonaparte was shut up at Alexandria ; and though he could not foresee exactly whether peace or war would be best for his interests, it was evident that neither his interests nor his views would be promoted by a defeat.

So well agreed were his friends on this point, that no doubt was held at Paris, that if he but knew the true state of things, he would return to the seat of government, and recover the glory of France and add much to his own. He collected a few of his most obsequious followers, and quitted Egypt in their company, without giving any notice of his design.

When he had resolved to return to France, Bonaparte ordered Admiral Ganteaume to get ready for sea the two frigates that lay at Alexandria ; General Menou knew the secret just time enough to inform the persons who were to be of the party to be ready to attend the General ; and, on the 23d of August, at one o'clock, says Denon,

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His address to General Kleber.

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"we were told that Bonaparte waited in the road ; an hour after we were at sea." At his departure, the General left an address to the army.

In this, he states, that in consequence of news from Europe, he had resolved to return to France ; that he leaves the command of the army to General Kleber ; that it grieves him to part from those to whom he is so tenderly attached ; but it is only for a short time, and that the General he leaves at their head is in full possession of the confidence of Government and himself.

This was enclosed in a letter to General Kleber, annexed to which he sends the order for him to take the command ; he says, his apprehensions lest the English fleet should again appear on the coast makes him hasten his departure. He names the officers he takes with him, and says he trusts to be in Europe before the beginning of October. He tells him that if none of the attempts of government to reinforce him should succeed, he thinks he may be justified in making a peace with the Ottoman Porte, even though the evacuation of Egypt should be the leading article ; that this, however, would be unfortunate, as it would certainly ere long be in the hands of some other European powers ; he desires him to use all the authority with which he was entrusted, to require the Porte to separate from the coalition, to grant the French the commerce of the Black Sea, to free all the French who are in confinement, and to agree to a suspension of hostilities for six months, to give time for exchanging ratifications ; he names the officers of departments who will explain matters to him, and recommends Poussielgue as chief financier, who he has found extremely active ; he says he meant to have attempted a new system of taxation, but advises him to be cautious on that head. he

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Kleber's letter to the Directory.

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says their ships of war will make their appearance that winter, and he must endeavour to get together five or six hundred Mamelukes, so as to lay hands on them and send them off to France, where they will acquire the manners and language of France, and return to Egypt so many partizans; he states his great regret at leaving them, but that extraordinary events which have lately taken place make him risk a passage through the enemy's squadrons; that his wishes shall ever be with them and that he will do whatever he can for the *children* he has left behind him.

General Kleber seems to have felt much indignation that Bonaparte should try to dupe him and the French nation, by ascribing his departure to honourable motives. Kleber's letter is addressed to the Directory, and is an interesting picture of Egypt at the time of the desertion of Napoleon.

He states, that Bonaparte left that country for France without telling any person whatever; that he was to have met him at Rosetta the next day, but found only his despatches; not knowing whether he has had the good fortune to reach Toulen, he sends a copy of the letter, transferring to him the command of the army, and one to the Grand Vizier at Constantinople, though he knew that officer was already at Damascus.

He tells them that the army is reduced a full half, and that their want of military stores is no less alarming than the prodigious diminution of their numbers, that their attempt to establish a foundry has failed, and their powder manufactory keeps no pace with their hopes, nor probably ever will; that the troops are naked, which is one of the greatest causes of the dysentery and the ophthalmia which so constantly prevail; and that the medi-

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Kléber's letter to the Directory.

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cal men report, that although the army is so diminished, their sick list is larger than last year; that General Bonaparte had given orders for new cloathing the army, but that the poverty of the finances caused this useful design to be postponed. He says, that a few months after their arrival, Bonaparte levied as heavy a military contribution as the country could support, and to do this now, would only lead to an insurrection; yet with all this, Bonaparte left no money behind him, nor any thing capable of being turned into money; but that he left a debt of eleven millions, four of which is due as pay to the army; and that the Nile being very low, many provinces will claim the exemption, which he cannot in justice object to; that the Mamelukes are dispersed, not destroyed; that Murad Bey is in Upper Egypt with a numerous body of men; and Ibrahim Bey, at Gaza, where also, he says, have arrived 30,000 men, part of the army of Dgezzar Pacha and the Grand Vizier; the latter of whom is encamped near Acre, and the English are masters of the Red Sea. Such is the situation in which Bonaparte has left him to command the army. El-Arisch is a petty fort in the desert, the difficulty of victualling which will not allow its being garrisoned by more than 250 men, and that in a short time it must surrender without a shot being fired at it; that the Arabs who alone can furnish provisions in the desert, now keep away and conceal themselves. Alexandria, he says, is not a fortress, but an entrenched camp, and that it can make but a feeble resistance. In this state he is at a loss what to do; he thinks he should continue the negotiations begun by Bonaparte, as by that he will gain a little time; that he will propose the restitution of Egypt to the Grand Vizier, in the idea that the Grand Signior shall appoint a Pacha as before, and that

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Kleber's letter to the Directory.

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his troops shall remain in the country, and occupy the strong holds, and collect the duties till the French make peace with England; he fears this will not be attended to; he is aware of the importance of Egypt, but that they want a navy; and peace with the Porte is the only way of getting rid of an enterprise no longer capable of attaining the object for which it was undertaken; that so far from home he can scarcely think of any thing but the safety and honour of the army he commands; he sends an estimate of what they stand in need of, and a recapitulation of the debts left unpaid by Bonaparte; just as he is closing his despatches, he says, he has received advice that fourteen or fifteen Turkish vessels are at anchor before Damietta waiting for the fleet of the Captain Pacha, having on board from fifteen to twenty thousand men, besides which, there are fifteen thousand at Gaza, and the Grand Vizier is marching from Damascus; that he cannot possibly get together more than 5000 men able to take the field against him, but that he will try his fortune if he does not gain time by negotiation.

It would be unnecessary to state the wants of the army here, which General Kleber particularises in his letter to the Directory, but the estimate of debts owing by Bonaparte when he fled, is important, as it shews he kept no faith with those he invaded, or those he led to invade them. The army was in arrears upwards of four millions of livres, and the total amounted to more than eleven millions. On their first arrival requisitions had been made in all the towns for the subsistence of the troops, which had never been paid for; and extraordinary contributions had been levied upon the tradesmen, merchants, &c.

The effects of the Mamelukes were also seized on their

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**Kleber's letter to the Directory.**

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arrival; and their wives have been made to pay an extraordinary imposition.

The eleven millions did not include what was due to the provinces for the supplies in kind, with which the troops were furnished during their march.

He concludes by observing, that as long as the army of Egypt is engaged in hostilities, there can be no foreign trade; nor can the receipts be possibly made to answer the expenses, and that peace alone can place the receipts on a satisfactory footing.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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